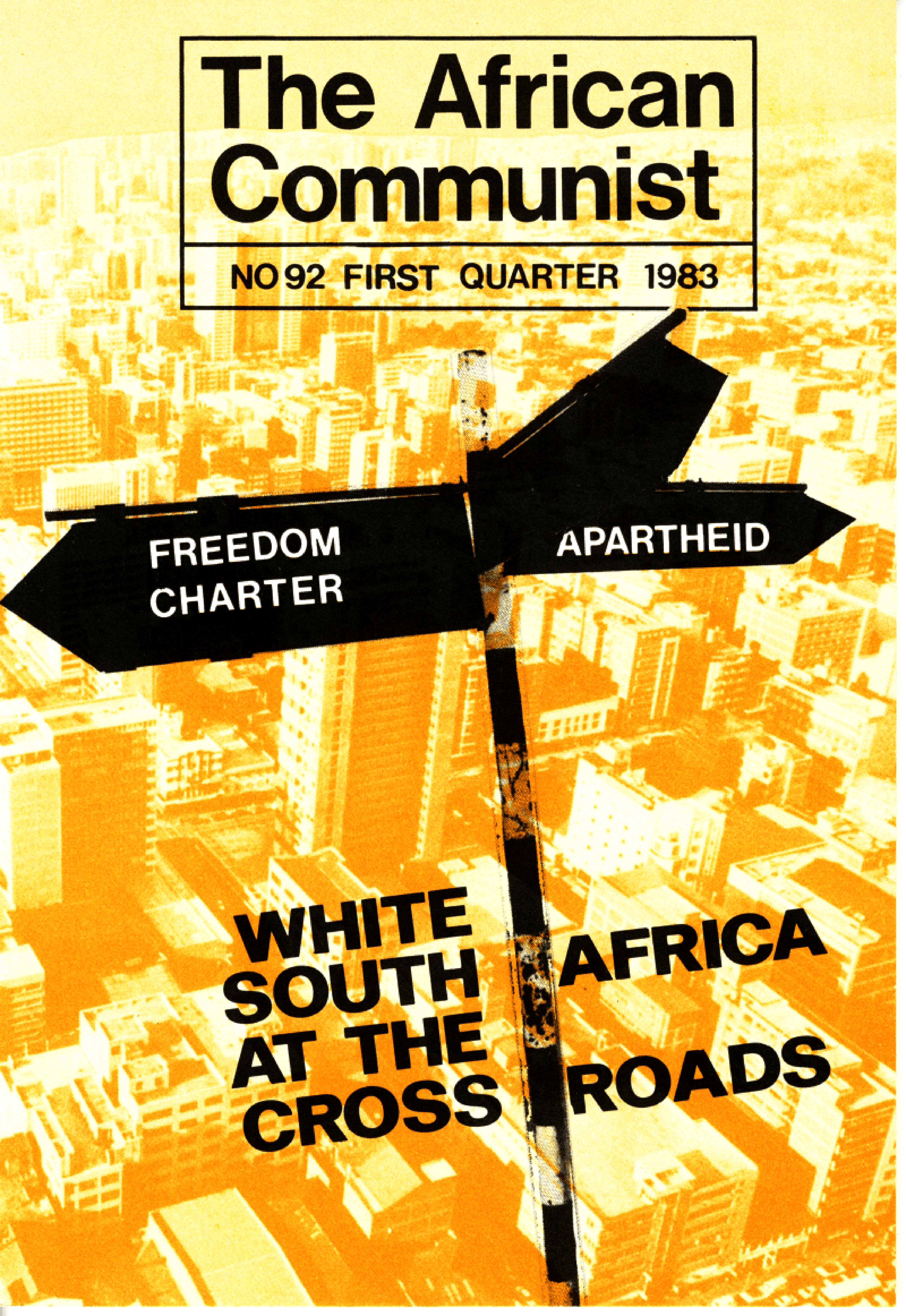
The African Communist

NO 92 FIRST QUARTER 1983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INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

AFRICA	*£2.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year* (Readers in Nigeria can subscribe by sending 4 Naira to KPS Bookshop PMB 1023. Afikpo. Imo State)
BRITAIN	*£3.00 per year including postage*
NORTH AMERICA	*$8.00 per year including postage* *$15.00 airmail per year*
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES	*£3.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year*

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD
ISSN 0001-9976
Proprietor: Moses Mabhida

Phototypesetting and artwork by Carlinpoint Ltd. (T.U.)
5 Dryden Street, London WC2

Printed by Interdruck Leipzig

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 92 First Quarter 1983

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DEATH OF

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who died in Moscow on November 10

LEONID BREZHNEV

The following letter was sent by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on November 11, 1982:

Dear comrades,
The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party sends heartfelt condolences to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people on the untimely passing of comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The passing of comrade Brezhnev removes from the international political arena a foremost protagonist for peace, a fighter for the best interests of humanity who devoted his whole life wholeheartedly to the task of strengthening the Soviet Union, raising the living standards of its people, and advancing the cause of socialism at home and abroad. His brilliant and inspired military record during World War 2 made a significant contribution to the defeat of Hitlerism. As a committed functionary of the CPSU he rallied his people in their hour of danger and in the post-war period played a leading role in restoring his damaged country and advancing it to the front rank of world powers. The whole process of detente which today guides humanity in the conduct of international relations is a monument, not only to his industry and brilliance as an organiser, but above all to his devotion to the cause of peace. He never wavered in stressing that mankind must struggle for peace to avoid the threat of annihilation through nuclear conflict. At the same time, comrade Brezhnev was a foremost defender of the interests of the peoples throughout the world labouring under oppression and exploitation by imperialism and neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism.

As comrade Brezhnev stressed: "Soviet people are constant in their support of the Asian and African peoples' freedom struggle against imperialism, and colonial and racial oppression. The war in Vietnam has ended in the victory of the patriotic forces; we firmly believe in the success of the just struggle of all the peoples of Indochina for the right to arrange their own lives without any outside interference. Our support is on the side of the Arab peoples fighting for a just peace in the Middle East, against Israeli aggression, for the withdrawal of the aggressor's forces from the occupied Arab territories, and for ensuring the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine. We constantly support the struggle of the peoples of Africa to eliminate the colonial and racialist regimes."

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism he staunchly advanced the cause of international communist unity and proletarian internationalism as the road forward for all humanity. We of the South African liberation movement can never forget the fraternal interest and assistance he displayed towards our cause, the honour he showed to our leaders, the guidance we obtained from his speeches, writings and discussions. Dear comrades, you and we have lost not only a leader but a dear friend and comrade. Let us honour his memory by redoubling our efforts to achieve the objective to which he devoted his life and which is dear to us all — a world free from want and misery, a world of equal rights and opportunities for all, a world of free and independent peoples, a world free from the threat of nuclear war, a world securely based on socialist foundations, a world where communism will be victorious.

Hamba Kahle, comrade Brezhnev!

Long live the CPSU!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live our common struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism!

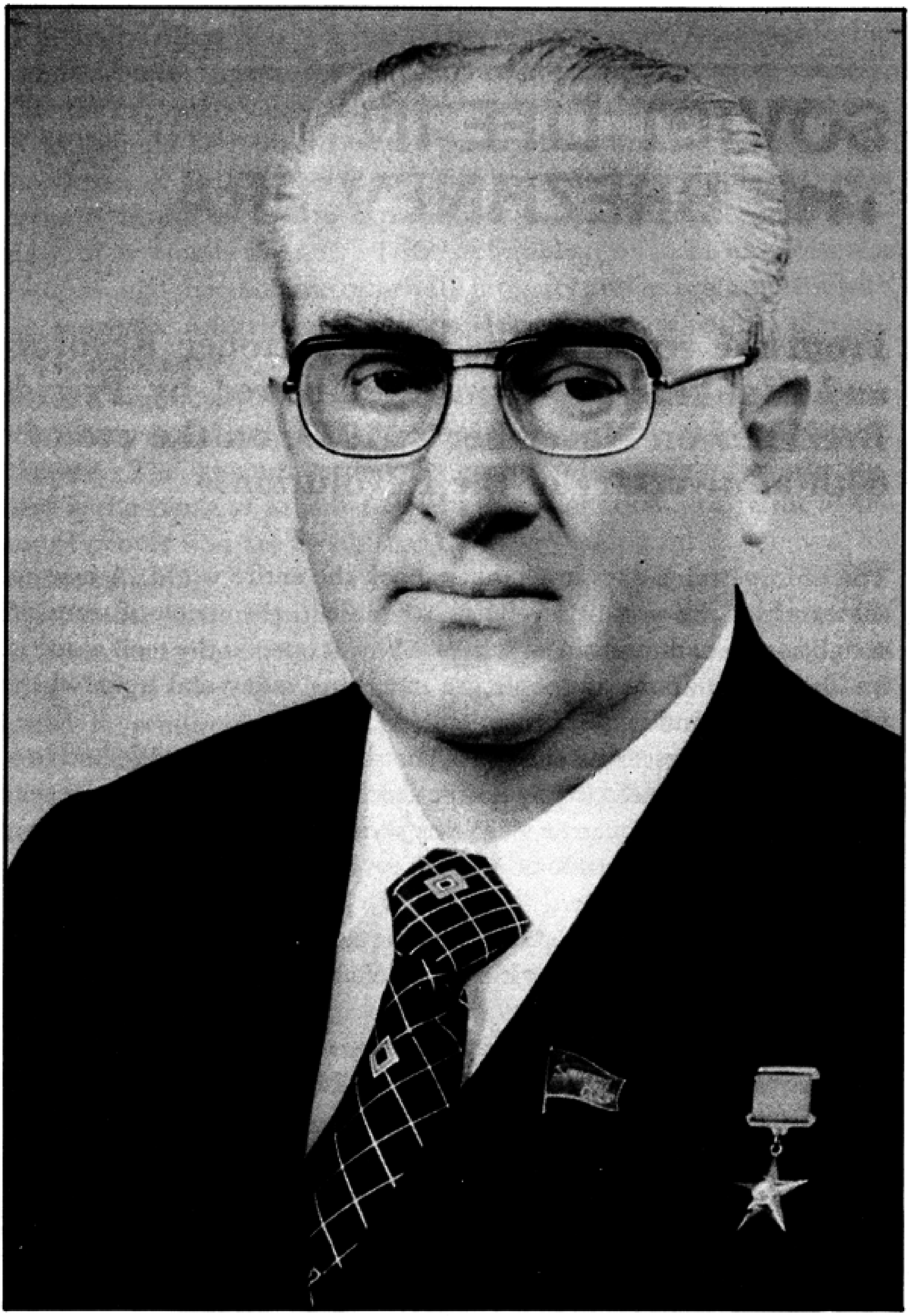
Long live the memory of L.I. Brezhnev!

Forward to communism!

Yours fraternally,

Yusuf M. Dadoo
Chairman, SACP.

Moses M. Mabhida
General Secretary, SACP.



Yuri Andropov, new general secretary of the CPSU

SOVIET LIFE IN THE BREZHNEV ERA

From the report "The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress" delivered by President Brezhnev on November 2, 1977, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Revolution:

The unforgettable days in October shook the entire world. A new epoch, the epoch of the world's revolutionary rebirth, the epoch of transition to socialism and communism, was ushered in. It opened the road along which hundreds of millions of people are marching today and upon which the whole of mankind is destined to embark.

We were the first. And things had not been easy for us. We had to stand firm while being encircled by hostile forces. We had to break the shackles of centuries-old backwardness. We had to overcome the enormous force of historical inertia and learn to live in accordance with new principles — the principles of collectivism.

And today, as we sum up the main result of six decades of struggle and work, we can say with pride: We have held our ground; we have stood fast and won.

Every time we celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution we perceive anew its significance and its great impact on the course of history, on the destiny of the world.

Understandably, the problems solved by the October Revolution were primarily Russia's problems, posed by its history, by the concrete conditions existing in it. But basically, these were not local but general problems, posed before the whole of mankind by social development. The epochal significance of the October Revolution lies precisely in the fact that it opened the road to the solution of these problems and thereby to the creation of a new type of civilization on earth.

The October Revolution proved that a radical change of society's political foundations was possible. The proletariat of Russia gave the answer to the most urgent, the most important political question, namely, whether the exploiters' monopoly of power was unchangeable or whether it could and should be replaced by the power of the working people.

The victory of the October Revolution gave working people their first opportunity to put an end to exploitation and free themselves from the bondage of economic anarchy. This key problem of social progress was resolved through the abolition of private property and its replacement with public property. Anarchy of production gave way to scientific, planned economic management.

Within a historically short period of time, a huge backward country was turned into a state with a highly developed industry and collectivized agriculture. The gigantic economic growth of history's first socialist country is the result of labour freed from exploitation, the result of the labour of people who are aware that they are working for themselves, for the common good.

The October Revolution and socialism have also enriched the history of mankind by bringing about the intellectual and cultural emancipation of working people. One of the "secrets" of the oppressors' rule has always consisted in reinforcing direct physical oppression of the masses with spiritual oppression. The ruling classes did all they could to make it difficult for the working people to gain access to education and cultural values, to make them captives of false ideas and concepts. That is why the cultural revolution was a natural continuation of the political revolution in our country.

Within the lifetime of a single generation, the Soviet land liberated itself compleely and for ever from the onerous burden of illiteracy. The working people began to take an active part in cultural life; they became the creators of cultural values. A new, socialist intelligentsia has emerged from the midst of the people, and has brought fame and glory to their country with outstanding achievements in science, technology, literature and art. A union which the best minds in history had dreamed of, the historic union of labour and culture, has taken place. In the history of our country, in the history of world culture, this marks an event of tremendous significance.

Among the most notable achievements of the October Revolution is the solution of the nationalities question, one of the most poignant and sensitive questions in the history of human society.

While calling for a militant alliance of the working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country, the Party and Lenin had always upheld the right of nations to self-determination, to complete and unconditional equality. The victory of the October Revolution was thus also a victory in the struggle for national liberation.

The unity of the nations and their mutual assistance accelerated the development of all the republics at unprecedented rates. Hostility and mistrust in the relations between nations gave way to friendship and mutual respect. Internationalism was firmly established in place of the psychology of national arrogance that had been implanted for ages. Mutually enriched national cultures, forming an integral Soviet socialist culture, shone forth with fresh, vivid colours.

The equality, fraternity and unbreakable unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union became a fact. A new historical community, the Soviet people, emerged. The increasing process of the drawing together of nations is seen in every sphere of life in our society. Such is the outstanding result of the Leninist nationalities policy; such is our experience, the epochal significance of which is indisputable.

The establishment of the principles of social equality and justice is one of the greatest achievements of the October Revolution. We have every right to say that no other society in the world has done or could have done as much for the masses, for the working people, as has been done by socialism. Every Soviet citizen enjoys in full the rights and freedoms enabling him to participate actively in political life. Every Soviet citizen has the possibility to choose a road in life that conforms to his inclinations and abilities, and to do work that is useful to his country and people.

The conditions under which Soviet people live and work are steadily improving. Soviet citizens do not know the humiliating feeling of uncertainty about the morrow, the fear of being left without work, without medical care and without a roof over their heads. Society safeguards their rights and interests and upholds their civic and human dignity.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution has put our country and our people in the vanguard of social progress. Today we hold a worthy place in its most advanced areas. We have been the first in the world to build a developed socialist society, and we are the first to have embarked upon the building of communism.

RACISM IS THE BREEDING GROUND OF TERRORISM

When the time comes for judgment of war and peace crimes in South Africa, the racists will be unable to pretend that they did not know what was going on in their prisons and concentration camps. By its very nature the "whites only" regime is dependent on the use of force to maintain itself in power, since the denial of the franchise to the black majority is in itself an admission that the basis of white power is the use or threat of force. From the time of the first white settlement in 1652, the history of South Africa has been a catalogue of crimes committed by the invaders against the indigenous inhabitants, who were deprived of their land and their liberty by the exercise of brute force. The racists have perpetuated their domination by continuous reliance on and resort to force to keep the black majority in subjection.

When in 1776 the American people found themselves in an intolerable position of subjection, they threw off the British yoke, declaring that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government". The Declaration of Independence acknowledged that "mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations .... evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government".

President Reagan chooses to forget or ignore this ringing justification of the revolt which lay at the foundation of the United States of America. But the oppressed peoples of the world have not forgotten, and the spirit of 1776, 1789 (the French revolution), 1871 (the Paris Commune), 1917 (the Russian Revolution) is today surging through Central and South America to the horror of the State Department and the White House. It was the same spirit which inspired the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe to declare that, faced with the Nationalist Government's policy of force, repression and violence "we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom".

Umkhonto we Sizwe said the liberation movement had hoped, and was still ready, to settle the problems of the country by peaceful negotiation. But the response of the Nationalist regime was to resort to still greater force and terror. First came the Sabotage Act in 1962, laying down the death penalty for various types of resistance, and then in 1963 the 90-day no-trial detention law, deliberately designed to legitimise the use of torture. Introducing the Bill in Parliament, Justice Minister Vorster said: "It is not a very nice thing to see a human being broken. I have seen it.... The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for them".

A Long List

He and his colleagues must take the responsibility for the deaths of nearly 60 political prisoners since then, the first of them Bellington Mampe on

September 1, 1963, cause of death undisclosed; the second Cape Town ANC leader Looksmart Solwandle, tortured to death in his Cape Town prison cell four days later. The most prominent cases in 1982 were those of trade unionist Neil Aggett, who hanged himself after being subjected to bestial and prolonged torture, and Ernest Dipale, who was found dead in his cell four days after he was arrested. The circumstances of Aggett's death were investigated at length at an inquest whose most remarkable feature was the total contradiction between witnesses for the police on the one hand and the family on the other. The most convincing evidence was given by former detainees who had been under "interrogation" at the same time as Aggett and who described in detail the torture regime to which they had been subjected. One, Auret van Heerden, a former President of NUSAS, who was released in July after almost 10 months in detention, said Agget had told him shortly before his death that he had been "broken" under the security police "interrogation" — a chilling echo of Vorster's threat when he gave the green light for torture way back in 1963.

The evidence given in the Aggett case attracted maximum attention because he was the first white political prisoner to die while being held under the no-trial detention laws. But the evidence given at his inquest had been heard before in other cases — Looksmart Solwandle, who turned green after one torture session; Suliman Salojee who "fell out of a seventh floor window" at police headquarters in Johannesburg; James Lenkoe, whose limbs were scarred by electric shock burns; Imam Haron, who slipped down the stairs in jail; Nichodimus Kgoathe, who slipped on a piece of soap in the jail shower; Mthayeni Cuthsela, who was given electric shocks through electrodes attached to his ears and penis; Ahmed Timol, who "fell from the 10th floor at police headquarters in Johannesburg"; Matthews Mabelane, who also fell from the 10th floor of Johannesburg police headquarters; Steve Biko, who died in a cell in Pretoria after being transported naked in the back of a truck 700 miles from the Port Elizabeth jail where he had been tortured.

And so the sordid story goes on and on. And it is a story that is only partially known. The names of Biko and Aggett have become known throughout the world, but most of the victims of Vorster's and Botha's murder squads are unknown outside the circle of their family and comrades. In some cases there were no inquests, despite the unnatural deaths they suffered. In some cases people have simply disappeared. On October 1, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee wrote in the *Star*:

"We are alarmed and disappointed at the public's response to the death in

> detention of Ernest Moabi Dipale. After a brief flurry of publicity the matter appears largely to have been forgotten by the public at large. Yet his death is of major importance for all South Africans. Consider the following points:
>
> "He was nearly the victim of an attempt on his life two days before his detention. His detention received no publicity — so, from the point of view of the general public, he disappeared early one morning and was found dead in his cell four days later. He went missing ..... and then was dead. Sounds more like Argentina or Chile than South Africa".

To us, whose experience of the regime's terrorism extends over decades rather than months, it sounds exactly like South Africa, as well as Argentina or Chile and a few other countries besides. It sounds exactly like the hideous work of all governments which attempt to halt social change and preserve the wealth and privilege of the bourgeoisie by resort to force and terror. The Botha regime frankly acknowledges it faces the threat of revolution from the oppressed people of South Africa. In his opening speech at the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist Party last September, the Transvaal leader of the Party F.W. de Klerk, who had taken over from Dr Treurnicht when the latter resigned over the issue of "sharing power" with Coloureds and Asians, for once forget to talk about the "Soviet threat" and confessed that his main fear was of revolution from inside the country.

Appealing to the delegates to undertake a deep self-examination on the need for reform, he said:

> "If we do not act correctly and in time, this beautiful land of milk and honey will be transformed in the blink of an eye into a country of bloodshed and hatred, crisis and revolution".

De Klerk even acknowledged that the black majority could not afford milk and honey, and life was "beautiful" for whites only.

> "On the one hand there is the majority of whites who are more prosperous than the others, who have the best land and the best homes, the most cars and the most power. On the other hand we have a black majority which is disadvantaged. We have reason to be concerned about the future".

The whites, stressed de Klerk, must bear in mind the growing threat of "terrorism", the threat of international sanctions, the growing isolation of South Africa in the sporting, cultural and educational fields. All this was a recipe for revolution, he said.

Increasing Repression

The tragedy and the farce is that the regime promises reform but does not provide it. How can a constitutional plan which strips the African majority of their South African citizenship qualify as a reform? How can one speak of trade union reform when the regime launches a massive assault on the independent trade union movement, detaining hundreds of activists, torturing and killing their leaders? How does the regime demonstrate its goodwill by launching aggression against the frontline states, and sending out its death squads to hunt down the people's leaders inside the country and beyond its borders? How is the will to reform demonstrated by the intensification of influx control, the massive pass raids, demolition of shacks, the destruction of family life, the increase in endorsements out, the rise in unemployment, the growing gap between rich and poor?

How does de Klerk qualify as a reformer when he assures the Nationalist congress that Botha's "power sharing" plan will guarantee the perpetuation of white domination, which he euphemistically describes as "their right to determine their own future"? He says the whites cannot afford to include the Africans. Under Botha's "power sharing" plan, he calculates, the population ratios would be: whites 9, Coloureds 5, Asians 2. This would leave the whites with a majority over the combined numbers of Coloureds and Asians. It the Africans were included, however, the racial ratios would be: Africans 36, whites 9, Coloureds 5 and Asians 2. Even if an exception was made by including only those Africans who were permanently urbanised, this would still leave a ratio of 16 Africans to 9 whites, 5 Coloureds and 2 Asians.

"What would then remain of the principle of maintaining civilised standards?" asked Heunis. "It is just not possible. That is why a different path is being followed for Africans".

So the white racists will continue their "civilised" policy of dining on milk and honey, torturing and killing their opponents, invading neighbouring states, reducing the majority of the population to starvation level, relying on the whip and the bullet to maintain "law and order". And because all this is done in the name of "defending a bastion of the west against Soviet imperialism", Reagan and Thatcher will continue to co-operate, just as they do with Pinochet, Pol Pot and other assorted thugs who defend the citadels of capitalism and imperialism in various parts of the world. And the International Monetary Fund, dominated by the western powers, will continue to advance loans. Last November the IMF approved a loan of over 1 million dollars to South Africa, ignoring a vote of 121 to 3 against the loan passed by the United Nations General Assembly. The 3 votes cast for South Africa came from the United States, Britain and West Germany, who between them control 31 per cent of the voting power in the IMF. Rejecting the UN majority protest that the loan would help to bolster apartheid in South Africa, the IMF, dominated as it is by the capitalist states, insisted that only financial considerations should be taken into account.

As far as the capitalists are concerned, politics = financial considerations. It is because, thanks to apartheid, South Africa is one of the world's most profitable markets for investment that the western powers continue to support it, casting their vetoes in the Security Council to prevent effective sanctions being imposed against the racist regime. Through their huge investment and trade stake, the western powers have the capacity to halt South African internal and external aggression forthwith, but for "financial considerations" choose not to do so; they do not want to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. So Namibia remains in thrall, the black majority in South Africa in subjection, and all the villains who conspire to perpetuate this state of affairs prate of "western civilisation", "democracy" and the "threat of Soviet imperialism".

Nevertheless, despite the foreign backing they enjoy, the South African racists do indeed have good reason, as de Klerk admitted, to be "concerned about the future". The oppressed people, under tried and tested leadership, are on the march. Each act of repression at home, each betrayal by the western powers abroad, is part of the process by which their confidence in the strategy and tactics they have adopted is confirmed. They are being taught who are their friends and who their enemies, and western investors should note that Mobil as well as SASOL is a legitimate target for attack. Both before and after liberation, those firms who bolster the apartheid regime can have no complaint if action is taken against them by the liberation movement.

The oppressed people are learning through their own experience, and being taught by western perfidy, that liberation can be achieved only through a revolution which not only overthrows the racist tyranny at home but also breaks the links which bind it to the imperialist tyranny abroad. Our own history and the sufferings of our people are teaching us that national struggle leads to internationalism — an internationalism which brings us the aid of the working class and solidarity movements in the capitalist world and the wholehearted support of the socialist community of nations.

In this year marking the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, we can appreciate to the full the message of the *Communist Manifesto* that the workers of all countries must unite; they have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to win.

WHO IS COMMITTING TREASON?

Anti-apartheid political activists in South Africa are more and more these days finding themselves arraigned in court on a charge of treason. Last October Barbara Hogan was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for treason because of her membership of and work for the African National Congress. There was no evidence that she was involved in or associated with any acts of violence, her work being limited to supplying officers of the ANC outside the country with information about labour matters, information which was in no way secret or confidential but was freely and legally available inside the country. She also helped organise the Fattis and Monis boycott campaign and the red meat boycott campaign in 1980.

Barring her link with the ANC, which she proudly acknowledged, none of this activity was in itself illegal. But, said Mr Justice van Dyk in his judgment, "Hogan signified by her conduct an agreement with all the aims of the ANC and therefore conspired to commit treason", because the aim of the ANC was to overthrow the South African state by violence. Having convicted her of treason because of her work for the ANC, the judge then also convicted her of belonging to the ANC and sentenced her under the Internal Security Act to a further four years. The two sentences are to run concurrently, but in effect she has been convicted and sentenced twice over for belonging to and working for the ANC.

The increasing resort to the common law of treason flows from the craving of the regime for the legitimacy it has failed to achieve through the repressive statutes passed by its all-white parliament during the last two decades. Barbara Hogan could have been sentenced to 10 years under the Sabotage Act or the Terrorism Act or any other of the multiple provisions of the catch-all Internal Security Act which has grown from the original Suppression of Communism Act passed in 1950, two years after the Malan government came into office. But in the eyes of the world, those laws are discredited, branded with the stigma of apartheid; even the South African judiciary are unhappy with them.

The law of treason, on the other hand, is thought to be respectable. All countries have it. Crowned heads have rolled for treason in "democratic" England. In South Africa treason is a common law offence which the white racist state has inherited from the past and for which the all-white parliament bears no responsibility. So Barbara Hogan gets 10 years for treason. In October 22-year-old Sowetan Suzman Mokoena got 20 years for treason after being convicted of planning an attack on the Rosslyn sub-station in 1981 — he, too, could as easily have been convicted under the Terrorism Act. In Maritzburg last September Patrick Maqubela, Mboniswa Maqhutyana and Seth Gaba were sentenced to 20 years for having caused seven bomb explosions in Durban in 1981 — offences which could easily have been called sabotage or terrorism but were branded as treason. In their case the law had to be stretched a bit because they are classed as citizens of the "independent" Transkei Bantustan, but the judge held that they still owed allegiance to South Africa through their domicile and work. The Moroka three — Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung — were sentenced to death for treason last August after being convicted of a number of military actions against South African police stations.

Opposition Threatened

The implications of these and other similar cases are extremely dangerous. The aim of the prosecution is to ensure that anyone who in any way assists the work of the ANC, whether or not a member, will become liable to a charge of treason. The maximum penalty for treason is death.

Barbara Hogan was described by her mother in a court statement as a "strong Christian who believed in equal treatment and equal opportunity for all people. She was committed to South Africa and its problems. She always tried to fight for the underprivileged and oppressed". She was the first white woman to be convicted of treason in the whole history of South Africa.

Those who recall the activities of members and supporters, male or female, of the Ossewa Brandwag and other subversive and traitorous organisations during the second world war — men and women who worked for a Hitler victory over the allies but were never brought to justice — have been outraged by the prosecution of Hogan and others on charges of treason. The Chancellor of the University of Witwatersrand, where Hogan had studied, said she was motivated by a desire for social justice and her imprisonment was a "tragedy for South Africa". Academics and lawyers confessed themselves "disturbed". The Detainees' Parents Support Committee said the sentence was "an additional setback to peaceful transformation of our South African society.

> "The underprivileged cannot fail to note that those who assist the ANC when exercising their convictions of brotherly love and concern in trying to assist the downtrodden, do so at the peril of severe punishment by a government obviously

> intent only on preserving its privileged position. To this end it continues to extend its security laws to criminalise actions which, in other countries, would be considered as legitimate oppposition.
>
> "Is it now the intention to bring to court for acts of high treason everyone who contravenes such laws while striving for a just society? Are we going to witness a series of trials that will make martyrs out of sincere idealists whose search for a more equal and democratic society may show them to be in sympathy with some of the aims of the ANC?"

We know from bitter experience that this is indeed the aim of the government. They tried the "treason trick" and failed when they arrested 156 men and women in 1956 in connection with their work for the Congress of the People and the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The essence of the crime of high treason, said prosecutor Oswald Pirow (Hitler lover and wartime leader of the treasonous New Order group), was "hostile intent". Such intent was evident in the demands of the accused for full equality. It was also evident, said Pirow, that to achieve the demands of the Freedom Charter "in our lifetime" would necessarily involve the overthrow of the state by violence.

But judge Rumpff would have none of it and all the accused were acquitted. The government then resorted to a series of laws and administrative actions under the Suppression of Communism Act to make illegal what was previously legal. The ANC was banned in 1960, the newspaper *New Age* and its successors were banned, the Sabotage Act was passed in a bid to stifle protest. Above all, the government enacted a series of laws providing for indefinite detention without trial, opening the way for torture to make its laws effective. But still the protest grew. The oppressed masses became more politicised, better organised, more determined. The ANC and the Communist Party developed their underground organisation. Umkhonto we Sizwe struck heavy blows against enemy targets.

The apartheid state is equipped with a battery of repressive laws and administrative weapons without equal in the world. But it is precisely because these emergency measures pass beyond the bounds of reason that they have failed to win acceptability at home or abroad. In fact, nothing has done more to damage the regime's reputation than the abuses perpetrated under the authority of these laws which make the use of force and terror necessary because they are not grounded in the consent of the people. The opponents of apartheid must be broken, said Vorster in 1963. But it is the ruling clique which has been broken by the pressures of recent years.

The conviction of opponents of apartheid on the charge of treason brings to the fore once again the importance of the campaign to win recognition for captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war. The Geneva Conventions were altered in 1977 to bring within their protection all people fighting against colonial domination and against racist regimes in pursuit of their right to self-determination. The new conventions have been ratified by 21 states, including 5 western European states. In 1980 the ANC declared its adherence to them.

The racist South African regime, however, has refused to follow suit, and deliberately cocks a snoot at international opinion by increasingly preferring charges of treason against freedom fighters. The liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia must meet this challenge. At stake is not only the fate of political prisoners but the very legitimacy of the liberation movements themselves. We must draw on all our resources at home and abroad to compel the racist South African regime to give way on this issue.

PROFITS AND PRINCIPLES

The whole world has commented on the hypocrisy of the United States selling wheat to the Soviet Union while at the same time imposing sanctions on its west European allies for selling equipment needed for the construction of the Soviet gas pipeline. But it is no secret that the United States is conducting an economic war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in preparation for the possible launching of an all-out military assault.

Reagan presents his anti-Soviet economic crusade as though he was the first to think it up. In actual fact, the capitalist countries adopted a programme of economic warfare against Soviet Russia (not to mention the military intervention) from the moment the Bolsheviks came to power.

The following article published in *The International,* organ of the International Socialist League, on November 26, 1920, speaks for itself:

TRADE WITH RUSSIA

The greed of the capitalists cannot resist the tempting bait of trade with Russia. They know that their only hope of crushing the revolution is to absolutely isolate the great Workers' Republic, and yet each national group, and even groups of capitalists within the various states, are desperately afraid that they will be overreached by their competitors. This is one of the contradictions which hastens the downfall of capitalism.

Capitalism must adopt methods which slowly but surely will destroy it. For example, we find that negotiations have been successfully concluded between representatives of Soviet Russia in Germany and the German locomotive export cartel for the supply of a large number of locomotives for the Russian Railways. The contract runs to 600,000,000 gold marks, which, at present rates, equals 6,000,000,000 paper marks. The firms concerned are Messrs Hartmann, of Chemnitz; Borsig, of Berlin; Maffel, of Munich; Krupp, of Essen; and Hentchell, of Cassel.

Again, the Rubber Planters' Union, whose operations in Europe are directed by Mr W.F. Regan, has entered into a contract for the supply of rubber to Russia involving an outlay of two million pounds sterling.

CAPITALIST ETHICS

In an interview, Mr Regan said that the contract had been made with a representative Russian of repute. Asked if this gentleman was buying on behalf of the Russian Republic, Mr Regan replied:

"What if he is? It is not for me as a businessman to question for whom he acts if not acting for himself. We accept the paper currency of Russia and are quite satisfied in doing so."

Mr Regan's attention was called to reports that had been circulated to the effect that manufacturers in this country (England) had shipped merchandise to Russia, and had not received payment.

"So far as we are concerned," he said, "I found the gentlemen who direct the Trade Delegation here on behalf of Russia men of sterling worth, shrewd and businesslike, and not asking for delivery of goods Russia cannot, or will not, pay for. The strong point I desire to urge is the absolute and vital necessity of the commercial community here to capture Russian trade before other competitors are in the field, when it may be too late. I am aware of contracts entered into with enterprising American firms by Russia. No matter what politicians may say as to the non-existence of bulging corn-bins, Russia can give us hides, tallow, oil; and if we are not up and doing Germany will be the first to recognise that Russia is a brilliant factor in the economic position as it stands today."

So the scramble for business and profits is the most powerful factor against the policy of the capitalist politician who rightly sees in Russia the citadel of world revolutionary labour, but is defeated and hampered in his logical (from his point of view) determination to boycott it even if he cannot exterminate it. This inherent weakness in the capitalist system is the greatest ally of the world revolution.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICA AT THE CROSSROADS

By Phineas Malinga

There are two great themes in the modern history of South Africa. The first is national and class conflict between the people and the ruling minority group. The second is the conflict among different elements within the ruling minority. While the liberation movement is chiefly concerned with the first, it must never neglect the second. Vital decisions about the strategy of liberation depend on a proper understanding of the way in which the component parts of the enemy camp are reacting to one another. The year 1982 saw more important developments within the South African ruling class than any other year in the second half of the century. The time is ripe to take a careful look at what is going on.

The white ruling class which first fastened its grip upon South Africa was a rural landowning class. Its method of exploitation was to confiscate agricultural land from the indigenous inhabitants and compel them to till that land for the benefit of the new owners. That landowning class and that method of exploitation endure to the present day. Though they have been through many vicissitudes and their importance relative to other classes has greatly diminished, the landowners of South Africa keep their position intact. They own seven-eighths of the surface area of South Africa. They control the means of producing South Africa's food supply and many of the country's important exports. It is not uncommon for the farms which were carved out, surveyed and named in the course of the conquests of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to remain at the present day in the possession of the direct descendants of the original conquerors.

The domination of the landowners was unchallenged by any local rival until the late nineteenth century. Until then, the only division in the ruling class was between local and imperial interests. The discovery of diamonds and gold changed the picture, introducing into South Africa the conflict which has already shaped the history of so many other countries, between the old landowning class and the new manufacturing and financial ruling class — the bourgeoisie.

At first the bourgeoisie was largely foreign and its challenge to the landowners became inextricably entangled with the wish of the British imperial authorities to exploit South Africa directly, without too much regard for the particular interests of the local ruling class. In the Boer War, the landowners' monopoly of political power was broken, many landowning families were severely impoverished and a regime was established which had two salient characteristics. Economically, the interests of the mineowners now prevailed over all others. Politically and culturally, a British caste established itself at the top of the heap, with the Afrikaners in an intermediate position between them and the oppressed black masses. In 1910 the ratio of the per capita income of the Afrikaner population to that of the English was one to three. The English dominated not only the business world but the administration as well; in 1912 about 85% of the civil servants were English-speaking. The result was that the Afrikaner population had grievances which were both economic and national in character.

The Fatal Alliance

As the mining industry grew, commerce flourished in its wake and secondary industry followed after an interval of time. An industrial proletariat had to be recruited. The proletariat was predominantly black and its recruitment put the bourgeoisie into a position of competition with the landowners for black labour. This has been a constant source of conflicting interests within the ruling circles. There was also a need for white labour. This was met partly by immigration, the immigrants tending to be workers with special skills to offer, who easily established themselves in the upper echelons of the working class.

The other source of recruitment was impoverished members of the Afrikaner landowning class. Such impoverished individuals existed for a number of reasons. There was the defeat of the Afrikaners in the Boer War. Later, there was the depression. In many parts of South Africa, the climate makes agriculture an uncertain business. When droughts and pestilences put pressure on the rural economy, the weaker landowners go bankrupt and their land passes to their richer neighbours. When landowners have large families and divide their farms between them, the result may be the creation of units too small to be viable by the standards of the class. Such units again tend to be bought up by richer neighbours. Thus the landowning class become less numerous but richer and more secure, while for forty years there was a steady stream of rural Afrikaners into the towns, seeking commercial and industrial employment.

They had few relevant skills to offer and little economic basis for their expectation of a standard of living greatly superior to that of black workers. They were exploited, poor and insecure. They soon became involved in clashes with their employers. Armed violence was involved on a small scale in 1913 and on a large scale in 1922.

From the very beginning of these struggles, leaders such as W.H. Andrews pointed the way forward for the white workers. The newly founded Communist Party urged the same course during and after the civil war of 1922. If the white workers had listened to these voices and had gone on to join hands with black workers to pursue the common interests of the working class, the history of the last sixty years would have been very different. Instead, the white workers allowed themselves to be seduced into an unnatural and fatal alliance with the landowning class.

Part of the exploration for this tragic error is that the majority of the white workers were individuals who had once belonged, or whose parents had belonged, to the landowning class. They could not, within the space of a single generation, complete the transition from their former culture to a proletarian culture. They were flattered by the invitation to consider themselves still "Boers". The fact that they had national grievances in common with the Afrikaner landowners was the decisive factor. If these national grievances could be remedied and certain safeguards erected for the narrow, sectional interest of the white artisans, their future — so they allowed themselves to believe — would be secure.

The Nationalist-Labour "Pact" government of 1924 was the result. It duly paid the white workers for their betrayal of their class interest by legislating for their sectional interest and establishing the industrial colour bar as a matter of law. This meant depriving the mineowners of their freedom to exploit cheap black labour at all levels of their organisation. The landowners also hoped to score a point at the expense of the mineowners. They wanted the Reserves abolished and all the agricultural land in the country thrown open to purchase by white farmers. This proved to be over-ambitious. The mineowners successfully defended their reservoirs of labour and in the "native land" legislation of the late twenties and early thirties, the Reserve system was entrenched and even extended.

This represented a setback, but by no means a disaster, for the landowners who proved perfectly capable of using the migrant labour system themselves, by way of supplement to their supply of serf labour, bound to the white farms by the traditional "labour contract". Thus the legislation of the Pact government and its immediate successors (all under the leadership of General Hertzog) represented a compromise settlement of the interests of landowners and mineowners, with an important bribe to the white working class.

The settlement was, of course, at the expense of the black peasantry and proletariat. Another class was also left out in the cold. The commercial and manufacturing bourgeoisie wanted freedom to hire black labour on ordinary commercial terms and an expansion of the domestic market for consumer goods. This would have meant loosening the Reserve system and relaxing "influx control". The political and constitutional counterpart of such a policy would have been the gradual extension of such elements of bourgeois democracy as the non-racial franchise in the Cape. All these demands were decisively rejected by the Hertzog administrations. So South Africa set out on a course which no longer ran parallel to the usual course of capitalist development in other parts of the world.

The Bourgeois Challenge

The commercial and manufacturing interest was, before the Second World War, economically much less important than the farming and mining interests. This state of affairs began to change during the war. Secondary industry grew and the demand for non-migrant urban labour grew with it. Squatters' camps sprang up round the major cities. The traditional systems of "native administration" were under increasing strain. "Influx control" caused more and more problems, not only for the African people, but also for employers.

Under these conditions, the idea of moving away from the Hertzog settlement in the direction of bourgeois democracy attracted increasing support in the ruling class. Deputy Prime Minister J.H. Hofmeyr — who seemed at least a possible successor to Smuts — allowed himself to become increasingly identified as the spokesman of liberalism. The Social and Economic Planning Council set up by the Smuts government after the war published a famous report, advocating a strategy of integration and recruitment of blacks into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corporation, rapidly supplanting the Rand Mines group as the dominant force in the mining industry, worked out a new formula for reconciling the labour requirements of the mineowners with those of the commercial and manufacturing bourgeoisie. This would have involved the abandonment by the mineowners of the migrant labour system in favour of a system based on semi-skilled, permanently employed African labour.

If implemented, this would have resembled a fundamental shift in the relationships between the different sectors of the ruling class. The settlement between the landowners and the mineowners would have been at an end and a new alliance between mining and secondary industry would have been in a position to dominate the scene. It seemed the obvious way forward — the inevitable response to the changes which had already taken place in the productive forces in South Africa.

The more farsighted members of the ruling class could see another reason for moving in that direction. The African National Congress had steadily gathered strength during the war years and was now putting forward an increasingly radical programme with obvious determination. Bourgeois democratic reforms were needed to meet popular demands as well as to allow the economy to develop in a natural way. It seemed inevitable — but on 26 May, 1948 it all went up in smoke.

The Apartheid Reaction

Repression of a fascist type is frequently considered desirable by a ruling class which feels its position threatened. For such repression to be possible, there must be issues which the rulers can exploit in a demagogic fashion, in order to seduce sections of the population on to their side. To meet the threat of the forties, the South African landowners again exploited the issue of Afrikaner national grievances. By 1948, many Afrikaner grievances had already been rectified. The Afrikaans language enjoyed a position of full equality, while the civil service was already Afrikaner-dominated. Nevertheless, the Afrikaans-speaking population was still substantially poorer than the English (though constituting 60% of the white population, Afrikaners received 29.5% of the national income, against 44.5% for the English-speaking whites).

The drive of the Afrikaners to improve their share of the urban economy was only just beginning. Their share of the private sector of the economy rose from 5% to 11% during the period 1939-50. Volkskas was as yet only a pigmy interloper on the financial scene. There was as yet no Afrikaner-controlled mining finance house. The use of state capitalism to further the Afrikaner interest had begun under Hertzog with the foundation of ISCOR, but as yet represented only a minor factor in the total economic situation. Afrikaners had made considerable strides in the professions but still felt that they occupied a second-class position (there was no Afrikaans-speaking medical school in 1948, while the use of Afrikaans in the Supreme Court was largely confined to criminal cases involving Afrikaners).

Thus there was an aspirant Afrikaner bourgeoisie, beginning to taste the fruits of success but with numerous unfulfilled ambitions. An important fact was that the successes so far achieved had not been achieved simply by letting market forces take their course. For thirty years there had been a conscious effort, orchestrated by the Broederbond and pursued through many different instruments — the Reddingsdaadbond, Volkskas, Afrikaans insurance companies, building societies and chambers of commerce — to further Afrikaans economic interests on a specifically nationalist basis. Against this background, it was not difficult to persuade the Afrikaner bourgeois that his interest lay, not in pursuing the unfamiliar policies advocated by the English-speaking bourgeoisie, but rather in clinging to the solidarity of the "Boerenasie".

Meanwhile, the Afrikaner artisans were seeing increased opportunities from the growth of secondary industry and this could be represented to them as the reward for their solidarity with the landowners. It was not difficult to frighten them away from the idea of allowing the bourgeoisie a free hand to exploit labour exactly as it pleased.

So the predominantly rural Nationalist Party was able in 1948 to win just enough urban votes for a Parliamentary majority and a mandate to stop the clock. With the aid of whatever degree of force and repression might be needed, the anachronistic forms of labour exploitation required by the landowning class were to be preserved for all time. The English bourgeoisie were amazed and contemptuous. They were sure that the 1948 election result was an aberration which would soon be corrected.

They reckoned without three things. Firstly, they did not understand how much dynamism there still was behind the Afrikaner desire to achieve full equality with the English. Secondly, they did not realise that they themselves were crippled by their attachments to an anachronism — the British Empire. With the decline of Britain to the second rank of imperialist powers, the time was ripe for the South African bourgeoisie to cease functioning as mere managers of branch offices for British capitalists and to move up to a more senior rank in the international imperialist system. This was a development favourable to the interests of all the South African bourgeoisie, but the Nationalists were psychologically ready for it in a way that the English-speaking whites were not.

Finally, the liberal bourgeoisie reckoned without the tendency of their own class to rally behind any government which appears effective in its repression of the people. A period of economic expansion enabled the government to satisfy Afrikaner ambitions without taking anything away from the English-speaking whites. The total ruthlessness with which the people's movement was attacked was accepted as necessary to secure immunity from popular demands. It seemed to be a success story and for a time the whole South African ruling class were content to bury their differences and concentrate on cashing in.

The Break-Up

The recent break in Nationalist unity seemed on the face of it to be very sudden. As recently as the election of 1981, neither the left-wing (Progressive) nor the right wing (Herstigte Nasionale Party) opposition to the government seemed to pose any significant threat. The South African ruling class presented the face to which the world had become accustomed — monolithic, sure of itself, uninterested in change of any kind. Then 1982 brought upheaval. P.W. Botha's package of "reforms" involved scrapping the constitution which has remained essentially unchanged for 72 years, creating elected bodies for the Coloured and Indian communities and giving these bodies some access to the processes of central government.

In protest against this proposal, a completely new opposition party has appeared. The Conservative Party, led by the former Transvaal leader of the Nationalist Party, is a much more formidable organisation than the HNP. In a by-election held in the Transvaal in August 1982, the Conservatives failed to defeat the Nationalists by only 308 votes, while the combined Conservative and HNP vote comfortably exceeded that of the Nationalist candidate. Commenting on this result, Dr Connie Mulder of the Conservative Party claimed that it showed his party's ability to win every rural constituency in the country at a general election.

The core of the new party's support lies where the core of South African reaction has always lain — with the landowning class. However, Conservative Party and HNP cadres have been active in the urban areas and there have been clear signs that they have been working with some success in such citadels of white working class prejudice as the white Mineworkers' Union. Their ambition, then, is to capture the whole constellation of forces which produced the Nationalist victory of 1948.

Any analysis of this situation must begin with an analysis of the Botha "reforms". Critics of apartheid, both in South Africa and internationally, have rightly dismissed these as containing no fundamental departure from the existing system. Neither the franchise nor freedom of movement is offered to the African majority. The kernel of the proposals is a crude attempt to separate the Coloured and Indian communities from the African — a tactic which has been used in different forms many times in the past. The constitutional machinery which is proposed is clearly designed to ensure that whatever happens in the Coloured, Indian or, for that matter, white elections, effective power will remain vested in the Nationalist Party machine.

The fact remains that the Botha proposals are intended to be seen as a change of direction. They have been described as "the end of exclusive white rule in South Africa," An impression of reasonableness and compromise is intended to be created in place of the old image of granite intransigence. It is this, as much as the actual content of the proposals, that alarms the Conservatives.

Perhaps still more significant is the reason which the government quite openly gives for the change of direction. "South Africa has all the classic elements for a revolution," said the new leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, Mr F.W. de Klerk, when addressing the Party congress in

September 1982. Alarmist talk about "the total onslaught on South Africa" has become a constant theme of government propaganda. The message is that the system is in mortal danger *and must make concessions in order to survive.*

Confidence Lost

This gives the clue to what is undoubtedly the most important reason why the apparent confident unity of the South African ruling class has been so abruptly shattered. In the sixties, the idea that the government had won its struggle against the liberation movement brought it the support of all sorts of opportunist elements. Now that idea is universally seen to have been an illusion. The liberation movement is alive and well and advancing daily. The fear that the system may be entirely overthrown in the foreseeable future now haunts the entire South African ruling class. In that situation, it is not surprising that those elements whose interests have been subordinated since 1948 are pressing for a change of direction.

But the people's action has not only made the ruling class fear for the future. It has also altered the present. Denial to the black wage-earner (whether urban or rural) of the right to form trade unions and the right to strike has been a cornerstone of the South African system. The African proletariat is not supposed to be a protagonist on the political scene. It is supposed to be the passive subject of ruling-class decisions about "native policy". Today, however, the African workers have seized the rights which the system sought to deny them. They are an active and increasingly powerful force on the political scene.

This links up with the fact that the Conservatives do not complain only about the future — about the Botha "reforms" — but also about the present and the past. They believe that many of their principles have already been surrendered. They speak of "a decade of integration" since the death of Dr Verwoerd.

To the worker under the lash of exploitation, to the victims of state terrorism, as to the horrified spectators of the South African tragedy all over the world, the idea that Nationalist policies were not fully implemented may seem a sick joke. Yet it is a fact that many of the things which the Nationalists set out to do have been quietly forgotten because they turned out to be economically impossible. What the landowners wanted, and were promised, was that no job done by whites would ever be allowed to be done by blacks. Many jobs which used to be done by whites are now done by blacks. In other words, on many points the interests of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie have prevailed, as was inevitable in the present stage of South African economic development.

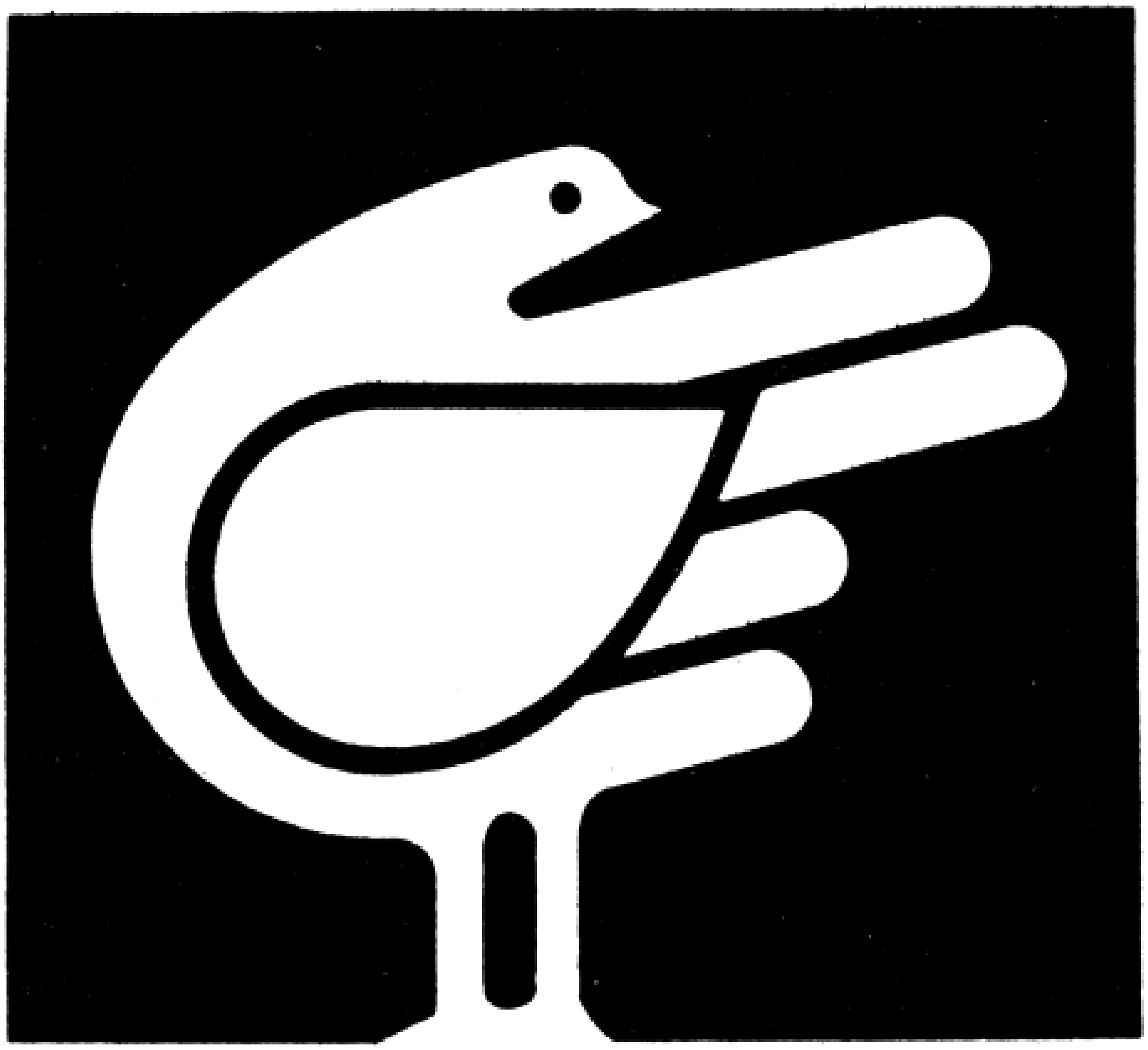
The Conservative breakaway signified that the landowners are still arrogant enough to think that they can correct the inevitable. They hope to put together for the third time the alliance which has served them so well in the past. Can they succeed? There are strong grounds for thinking that the answer may be "no". The Afrikaner community has changed considerably since 1948. Not only are 80% of Afrikaners now in occupations other than agriculture, but many are now second and third generation city dwellers. Their cultural and psychological attachment to the concept of the "Boerenasie" is not what it used to be.

The Botha reforms were adopted by overwhelming majorities at all four Nationalist Party congresses which took place between August and October 1982. Then in the first week of November the Nationalist Party held its ground in four parliamentary and three provincial council by-elections. If these indicators are reliable, it may be that the right-wing breakaways will lead to the isolation of the landowners and their long overdue removal from the centre of power in South Africa. Above all the conditions may be created for the break-up of the alliance between the landowners and the white workers which has dominated the political scene for so long.

Small though the policy differences at present are between the contending parties, the outcome of this conflict is not a matter of indifference to the people's movement. If the existing constellation of ruling forces can be broken, if the most reactionary among them can be isolated, if movement of the political situation can begin, the people have the strength to ensure that such movement will go on, much further than its initiators dream.

The liberation movement must therefore be alert to seize every chance of advantage that the new developments offer. The main contribution of the liberation movement will be to continue along its existing path, pursuing its full programme of demands by every available means and piling on the pressure which was the original cause of the rulers' disarray. For certain detachments of the movement, however, the new situation presents specific tasks.

The Communist Party must ensure that its voice is heard by all sections of the South African people. Some of the reasons why few whites listened to that voice in the past are no longer applicable. If the white workers, for example, can be won away from their fatal alliance with the landowners, the gain will be immense. The Congress movement must remember the mission which it undertook, through the formation of the Congress of Democrats, to the white population as a whole. That mission is an honourable one and one which deserves to succeed — to point out that broad circles of the white population, workers, intelligentsia, middle classes, have a genuine interest in changing direction and accepting the results of liberation for the oppressed majority. There is a purpose to be served by bringing this message even to those whites who refuse to listen. Their crisis has arisen because they are already dimly aware that they cannot go on in the old way. Botha is trying to comfort them with the illusion that they need only change to the extent indicated by his "reforms". The debate must not be allowed to confine itself within such narrow boundaries. The white population must be made conscious, not of an enemy which threatens them with more radical change, but of a leadership which can become their own and can lead them to a better future for the whole South African people.



U.S. BID TO DERAIL SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

by R.S. Nyameko

The African American Labour Centre (AALC), the anti-communist and anti-Soviet AFL-CIO and the CIA are taking an increasing interest in trade union affairs in South Africa. The July-August 1982 issue of the *AALC Reporter* devoted several pages to events in our country. And in September an AFL-CIO delegation visited South Africa. The AFL-CIO's executive council also awarded two George Meany Human Rights awards — one posthumously to Dr Neil Aggett, the Transvaal regional secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, done to death in a security police cell in February 1982; and the other to Mongosutho Gatsha Buthelezi, the chief minister of the kwaZulu Bantustan and President of Inkatha.

The George Meany award is a travesty of the meaning of human rights. Meany, for so long the boss of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) was a sworn enemy of detente, a most vicious opponent of the policy of understanding and peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. He was one of the most prominent in smearing the Soviet Union with lies and deceit. Meany and Irving Brown, Director of the AFL-CIO's foreign department, played a major role in splitting the trade union movement on cold war lines and undermining trade union unity in the US, France, Italy and elsewhere. Meany was a prominent upholder of the United States' dastardly war policies in Vietnam which brought death to 30 million people and devastated huge areas of the country.

The right to life, the right to peace — these are basic human rights which were violated by Meany's policies and practice. Those who contribute to the creation of a bellicose warmongering atmosphere in international affairs cannot qualify as defenders of peace, progress and human rights.

The presentation of the George Meany award to Neil Aggett and Gatsha Buthelezi was aimed to sow confusion in the ranks of the exploited workers and oppressed people of our land. It is impossible to place the two recipients in the same category. The killing of Neil Aggett aroused widespread disgust and anger throughout South Africa and the world. Here was a medical man who, without thought of material reward, gave his time and services and eventually his life to the cause of the workers,devoting all his talent and energy to assisting the underpaid and victimised wage earners in their attempts to improve their conditions of life. The evidence given at his inquest has shown that he was subjected to the most brutal and degrading torture that drove him to his death, evoking a cry of anguish and protest from, not only family and friends, but also academics, scholars, liberals, workers and members of the national liberation movement in South Africa and abroad.

How does a George Meany award fit in with such an outstanding personality? How dare the AFL-CIO tarnish the name of Neil Aggett by trying to place on him the mantle of a red-baiter and warmonger? The award is nothing more than a blatant attempt by the AFL-CIO to cash in on the credit won by Neil Aggett in the eyes of his people.

Third Force

As for the award to Buthelezi, it is nothing more than an attempt to promote a third force in South Africa, in the same way that the AALC is trying to promote similar third forces in other African countries. The aim of these moves is to detach the workers and their unions from their natural allies, to break up the unity of the international working class movement, to destabilise the independent African states and divide the liberatory movement. At a recent meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Irving Brown urged that Buthelezi be recognised as a "potentially decisive" force in South African politics.

The AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa was a follow-up to the team from the US Agency for International Development (AID) who visited Johannesburg in December 1981 to investigate ways of "aiding" black education and implementing their programme of action adopted in February 1981 in support of black trade unions: "A Programme to provide training in leadership ..... to seek non-violent solutions to the problems of South Africa".[1] The intention here is to sow the illusion that the problems of South Africa can be solved by non-violent means, in contradiction of the aims of the national liberation movement and the proclamation of Umkhonto we Sizwe when it was launched in 1961; and all this at a time when the regime and its agents are murdering our trade union and people's leaders and launching aggression against the frontline states. The AALC is in charge of this project and millions of dollars have been placed at its disposal for organising lectures, training courses and grants for black trade unionists.

The American delegation, which was on a 10-day "fact-finding" mission, was made up of senior AFL-CIO and AALC officials. Their leader was Chich Chaikin, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, and others included Irving Brown and Patrick O'Farrell, executive director of the AALC. Irving Brown has been identified as a CIA operative by former head of the CIA Thomas Braden, by former CIA operative Phillip Agee and others. When questioned by pressmen on one occasion he replied: "If I were a CIA agent I would not tell you". That their proposal to aid black unions was not unacceptable to the Botha regime may be gauged from Chaikin's statement that "the South African government would be unlikely to oppose the move".[2]

It is worth recalling that Sidney Lens, the US trade union analyst, wrote in his book *American Labour Abroad — Lovestone Diplomacy*:

> "What the US government does not do directly because it would be flagrant meddling with internal affairs of other nations and what the CIA cannot do because it is suspect, the AFL-CIO does on their behalf".

The late President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in his book *Neo-Colonialism — the last stage of imperialism*, discussing the ICFTU tactics in splitting African trade unions, said:

> "The ICFTU now apparently is being superseded by the New York Africa-America Labour Centre (AALC) under the AFL-CIO Chief George Meany and the well-known CIA man in labour's top echelons, Irving Brown ...... set up right across the river from the United Nations".

Victor Reuther, former Education Director of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and former CIO director for International Affairs, in his book *The Brothers Reuther and the story of the UAW* exposes the involvement of the AFL-CIO leadership with the CIA which brought corruption and shame, betrayal and weakness to the cause of labour.

Trade Union Reaction

The AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa announced that they planned to meet trade union leaders as well as employers and government representatives. Union bodies which agreed to meet them included the all-white Confederation of Labour, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) and emerging trade union groups including the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the General Workers' Union.

On the other hand the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union (MACWUSA) said it would not meet the delegation because of the Reagan Administration's "constructive engagement" policy towards South Africa which the AFL-CIO supported. MACWUSA charged that the AFL-CIO's decision to give its George Meany Human Rights award jointly to Gatsha Buthelezi and Neil Aggett was "an insult" to Dr Aggett by "implying that they are in the same class".

The general secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), Sam Kikine, said the AFL-CIO delegation had not been invited by local unions but had come on its own initiative.[3]

GAWU said:

> "We would prefer to have nothing to do with them. We see their role as complementary to the dirty tricks that the US has played as an imperialist power. The US has become an enemy of the workers the world over".

The AFL-CIO-AALC-CIA strategy is to immunise the working class movement against radical influences and steer it in directions considered desirable by the American government. The Reagan administration wants to see the development in every country of a working class that will be hospitable to American business and which will enable the US to intervene on the side of reaction as they did in the Brazilian coup of 1964, the Chilean coup of 1973 and in the Congo where the CIA was responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

The AALC has recently been increasing its penetration of independent Africa. AALC representatives have made a first official visit to Guinea. They were invited and received by the National Confederation of Guinean Workers (CNTG) and even given a luncheon by Guinean President Sekou Toure (himself a former trade unionist).[4]

Side by side with this AALC infiltration, the CIA is increasing its own presence in Africa. A new American listening post has been established in Swaziland. The monitoring station will operate under the aegis of the US Commerce Department organ known as the Foreign Broadcasting

Information Service, but will serve the interests of the CIA, whose spokeswoman Cathy Person explained: "For their own safety, we try not to give them a big profile since they are pretty vulnerable". This is not the only station of its kind in Africa. Others exist in Monrovia, Liberia, and in Kenya.[5] John Steel, the US Embassy spokesman in Mbabane, Swaziland, says the station has been established in Swaziland because his government is interested in knowing what is happening in the world in general and particularly in Southern Africa.[6]

The Reagan Administration backs the Botha regime in calling on South Africans to arm themselves against the menace of "Soviet imperialism". But there is no threat to the South African people from the Soviet Union or any other socialist country, who simply want peace. They are building a free and progressive system of life for their people. They do not seek a square inch of African soil. They support our national liberation movement because they are the friends of all oppressed and exploited people and want to help end race, national and class oppression everywhere.

It is the US which is trying to turn the whole African continent into a bastion against the Soviet Union and in the process is against all progressive change in every country. The AALC agents in Africa must be exposed as the enemies of African freedom and independence, trying to convert our countries into American colonies. Their activities are a threat to peace in Africa and the world.

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The Murder of Ruth First

SOUTH AFRICA'S DEATH SQUADS MUST BE HALTED

The murder of Ruth First by parcel bomb in her office at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo on August 17, 1982, was one of a series of assassinations of members of the liberation movement perpetrated by agents of the South African security forces in recent years. On June 4 last year Petrus Nzima and his wife Jabu, representatives in Swaziland of the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, were killed by a car bomb in Manzini. Later in the same month an attempt was made to murder by car bomb ANC leader Winnie Mandela in her place of exile at Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

On November 20, 1981, Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge, underground ANC activist, was found dead with his throat cut and stab wounds in his stomach after being kidnapped by assassins on his way home from work. On July 11, 1981, ANC representative in Zimbabwe, Joe Gqabi, was shot dead outside his home in Harare. In 1974 exiled student leader Ongopotse Tiro was assassinated by parcel bomb in Botswana, while in the same year exiled ANC activist John Dube was killed and another ANC man injured by parcel bomb in Lusaka. Many other ANC members have been injured in assassination attacks both inside South Africa and in exile. In prison trade unionist Dr Neil Aggett and Ernest Moabi Dipale were done to death while being held without trial in the hands of the security police. The total number of deaths in detention since the no-trial law was first introduced in 1963 is now approaching the 60 mark.

Nor is it only South Africans who are the victims of assassination plots hatched and carried out by the racists and imperialists. Frelimo leader Eduardo Mondlane himself was murdered by parcel bomb delivered to him in Dar Es Salaam in 1969. PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral was assassinated in 1973. Chile's democratically elected President Salvador Allende was murdered by the Pinochet butchers in 1973, whle attempts are made daily by the CIA and other agencies to dispose of Cuba's President Fidel Castro. Seychelles President Rene was the target of mercenary attack in November 1981. The dastardly and cowardly tactics employed by the racists and imperialists are typical of the foul system they defend.

In August 1981, after Joe Gqabi's murder, Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of the Washington-based American organisation Trans-Africa, said it had evidence that classified United States Defence Department documents revealed that the Botha regime in South Africa had assembled an assassination squad to kill leaders of the African National Congress operating in the frontline states.

> "Top secret intelligence reports prove that Defence Department officials knew of South Africa's assassination plans long before the murder of Mr Gqabi. Yet the US did nothing to dissuade its new ally from pursuing its plans. This renders the United States an accomplice in the killing of Mr Gqabi and those that may follow."

Ruth First was one of those that followed. Nor have the attempts of the assassination squad been confined to the frontline states. The African National Congress office in London was severely damaged in a bomb explosion in March 1982. Later in the year the London offices of the ANC and SWAPO were burgled and lists of names and other documents stolen Three men were charged with offences connected with these burglari and the Director of Public Prosecutions admitted at one hearing that the case had "international and political overtones and concerns intelligence gathering." In a memorandum to the Home Secretary the Anti-Apartheid Movement charged that the South African Embassy was being used as a base for acts of subversion and terrorism directed not only against South African exiles but also against independent African states. It had been estimated that one quarter of the "diplomats" at South Africa House were in reality agents of the SA National Intelligence Service, said AAM, calling for their immediate expulsion.

The Enemy's Threat

In a speech made the day after Ruth First was assassinated, the chief of South Africa's security police, Lt. Gen. Johan Coetzee, said South Africa was committed to "the uncompromising pursuit and destruction" of black nationalist guerrillas "wherever they may be".

The ANC journal *Sechaba* commented in its issue of October 1982 "The first lesson that must be learnt is underlined bold and clear by the killing of Ruth First. It is that, for South African fighters against apartheid, eternal vigilance is the price of life as well as of liberty! The disease of apartheid terrorism is spreading like a mortal infection everywhere; and everywhere vigilance is the first essential for defence.

"There is too the lesson that the apartheid state's appetite for terrorism and brutality does not diminish, but grows stronger with every setback it suffers. There was a time, not far back in recent history, when white supremacy was maintained by a low-keyed combination of white political power, operating a code of repressive laws and a regime of petty police brutality. Through successive regimes of Botha, Hertzog, Smuts and even Malan, the white state thus maintained a semblance of peace and order without recourse to assassination or institutionalised torture. No longer. White supremacy is under challenge from the South African people and their liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. In a single generation, the defence of the white state has passed from the low-keyed oppression through a spate of ever more draconian laws, to the present abrogation of law and the enthronement of torture and murder.

"And still the old equation of white supremacy and black oppression can not be kept in equilibrium. There will be more resort to violence, and worse brutality to come. The reign of terror spreads beyond South Africa's frontiers to the places where liberation fighters have moved abroad; now to those who harbour them; and finally — if the incursions into Zimbabwe and the Seychelles are to be understood — to the supporters of those who support them.

"It is not necessary to ask whose was the hand that placed the bomb. Who made and posted the letter that killed Ruth First? Who kidnapped the Bulgarian engineers working to develop Mozambique's economy? Or who placed the dynamite that destroyed a bridge in Angola? Terrorism in Southern Africa is South African terrorism; it is prepared, planned, organised and paid for from Pretoria, wherever it occurs and whoever sets the final fuse. This too is a lesson learnt again from Ruth's death, as it has been from many that have gone before."

The assassination of Ruth First attracted international attention and condemnation because of the outstanding qualities she displayed as a political activist, journalist and writer and as a human being. Over 3,000 people attended her funeral in Maputo. Six pall-bearers from the ANC carried her coffin and she was buried beside the 13 members of the ANC and SACTU murdered in the South African commando raid at Matola in January 1981. Speaking at the funeral, Frelimo Party Secretary for Economic Policy, Marcelino dos Santos, praised Ruth First's work in "strengthening the unity between the Mozambican and South African peoples". He pledged that "no bombs, no threat will make us drop our support for the ANC and for the people of South Africa."

President Samora Machel wrote in the book of condolence which was opened at the Centre for African Studies where she worked:

> "Your example will inspire still more South African people. They will transform their sorrow and mourning into an immense force for the incisive battles in the war against apartheid and for the destruction of the nazi-fascist regime of Pretoria".

The main speech at the funeral was delivered by the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Moses Mabhida, who praised Ruth First's contribution to the struggle for national liberation and socialism over the previous 40 years, from the time when, as a young student, she joined the Young Communist League in Johannesburg, up to the period immediately before her death when she worked as Director of Research in the Centre for African Studies at the University of Maputo. Comrade Mabhida said:

"Ruth was of a generation that saw and participated in great qualitative changes in the character of our people's struggle. This was a time when radical youth in the ANC, acting in collaboration with older militants, were transforming our national liberation organisation — to use her own trenchant formulation — from a series of annual conferences into a leader of mass struggle. It was the time of the great mineworkers' strike and the Programme of Action, a time when the ANC was turning away decisively from the role adopted by some of its earlier leaders of seeking accommodation with the rulers, and beginning to adopt fully its role of seeking to destroy completely the system of exploitation and race domination and replace it with a new society in which the people would exercise power for the benefit of all. It was the period of the emergence of revolutionary nationalism as the basic philosophy of the ANC, a nationalism that envisaged the involvement of the broadest sections of the people, of all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle for liberation.

"Ruth at this stage was involved in all the routine organisational tasks of the Young Communist League and later of the Communist Party — distributing leaflets, selling literature, addressing meetings, attending study classes. But in addition she was taking part in the great political debates of that period, helping to plan campaigns, and establishing relationships of comradeship with the militant leadership of the ANC that have lasted to this day.

"Shortly after leaving the University, Comrade Ruth became first a reporter and later on the Johannesburg Editor of the *Guardian* newspaper. It was this newspaper — constantly banned and constantly reappearing under new names: *Clarion, People's World, Advance, New Age, Spark* — that enabled the ANC to convey its message to the people and so complete its transformation into a true mass organisation. The team of reporters under Ruth's leadership in Johannesburg — including our late beloved Comrade Joe Gqabi murdered by the regime's agents in Harare last year — produced a series of devastating exposures, such as that of the inhuman treatment of African farm workers in the Transvaal which led to both national and international campaigns in support of the farmworkers; we recall too her investigation of conditions in Namibia and the series of reports exposing the situation to public and international scrutiny which were important in stimulating international pressure on South Africa to give up its control of Namibia.

"But above all, the *Guardian* carried regular weekly reports of the poeple's resistance, whether of local actions in a farm, or factory or mine compound, or the great national mobilisations conducted by the ANC and its allies at that time: the May Day strike of 1950, followed by the Day of Mourning, June 26th, since then Freedom Day of our people; the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign; the Congress of the People at which the basic document of our organisation, the Freedom Charter, was drawn up; the Treason Trial which followed, and in which she was one of the accused; the bus boycott; the great campaigns of the women against the pass laws and many more. It was through the pages of the *Guardian* that our leaders became known throughout the country, the late Chief Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks and many others, and that their writings and statements were spread. The *Guardian* gave the mass struggle the true image of itself, an image whose sharpness owed much to the well documented reports and incisive commentaries of Ruth."

In addition to her work for the *Guardian* and its successors, Ruth First edited the monthly *Fighting Talk,* which became one of the most lively journals in the country. Among its contributors were Chief Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, "Rusty" and Hilda Bernstein, Govan Mbeki, Michael Harmel and scores of others in the liberation movement. It also provided an outlet for new writing, and among those who illuminated its pages were Alfred Hutchinson, Zeke Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Dennis Brutus, Arthur Maimane, Richard Rive, Alex la Guma and others well known today in South Africa and abroad.

When the Communist Party was banned in 1950, she continued to contribute to its underground work. She was involved with her husband Joe Slovo in the 1956-61 treason trial, was harassed by the police, banned from gatherings, detained without trial in solitary confinement for 117 days. In 1963, when the papers and journals for which she had worked were finally silenced by the regime, she, together with all other journalists who had worked for them, was prohibited from being on any premises where any publication was published or "preparing, compiling, printing or disseminating in any manner whatsoever. . . any newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster."

Her reply was a stream of books and publications which included:

117 Days — an account of her imprisonment in South Africa.

South West Africa — a study of colonial oppression by Germany and South Africa.

The Barrel of a Gun — a study of military rule and political power in Africa.

Libya — a profile of President Gaddafi and his objectives.

She assisted Oginga Odinga in the production of his autobiography: *Not Yet Uhuru;* she edited *No Easy Walk to Freedom,* a compilation of the speeches and writings of Nelson Mandela; she co-authored with others *The South African Connection,* an analysis of the ways in which western companies prop up apartheid through their investments in and trade with South Africa; a brilliant study on Olive Schreiner, and *Black Gold,* the fruits of research at the Centre for African Studies on Mozambican migrant labour in the South African gold mines.

She was immensely productive and persistent in her search for information which would throw new light on the subject under investigation. She valued facts and the truth.

A Pledge For The Future

Moses Mabhida said in Zulu "Akuhlanga Lungehlanga", which he translated in Marxist teminology "Death is the necessary end of life". He concluded his funeral oration:

"The bomb that took Comrade Ruth's life was intended to deprive our movement of the services of one of its most gifted militants. We openly acknowledge the exceptional gravity of the loss to us caused by her death.

"But we equally proclaim that her immense contribution to our movement will never be lost but will help to guide our actions and inspire our militants in the years to come.

"Comrades and friends, comrade Ruth's grave lies in front of us. She is being buried in the soil of liberated Mozambique, a soil drenched in the blood of those who died that the whole of Africa and the world might be free. She will lie side by side with the other comrades of the ANC and the South African Communist Party assassinated by the racists. We read their names. They are:

First row: 1. William Khanyile; 2. Motso Mokgabudi (Obaadi); 3. Mduduzi Guma (Nkululeko); 4. Khrishna Rabillal (Goodman); 5. Sinziswe Sikweyiya (Hadebe); 6. Beki Laurence Magubane (Felix).

Second row: 7. Thabana Burulani; 8. Lencilot Mfanafuthi Hadebe; 9. Daniel Kolibatsi; 10. Stephen Ngcobo; 11. Nelson Manakaza; 12 Nelson Nduna Mvula.

Third row: 13. Mduduzeli Sibanyoni.

"These are the names of the people of South Africa. There is no apartheid in these graves. There is no distinction of race, no barrier of age, no discrimination of sex. The new nation of the living grows from the nation of the dead. Comrade Ruth will always be for us one of the first citizens of a liberated South Africa. We cover her with flowers and honour her, while her killers live in secrecy and will die in shame. And one day in the not too distant future, we pledge that the bodies of all who died will be returned to the soil of a liberated South Africa.

"Our response, dear comrades, to these dastardly crimes is to intensify our struggle. Our President O. R. Tambo has already declared that it is our revolutionary duty to avenge mercilessly the death of all our comrades. In the next phase of our armed struggle it is not only the installations of the enemy that are going to be targets but also the lives of the personnel of the enemy.

"We want to say, 'Farewell, Comrade Ruth' and we want to assure you that the struggle you so loved will be carried out with all determination and intensity.

"AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
"A LUTA CONTINUA!"

KENYA IN CRISIS: THE CAUSES OF THE COUP

By Múrú wa Riri

When Britain declared Kenya its colony in 1903, it immediately highlighted the spectacular topographical features and flora and fauna of the territory. Later on, this equatorial country's suitability for "the permanent settlement of Europeans" was stressed. Still later, during the period of armed struggle for liberation from colonialism, the imperialists described the Mau Mau movement and its famous 'Land and Freedom Armies' as "barbaric Africans".

Following independence in December 1963, the same reactionary imperialist forces described Kenya as a model developing country, rapidly industrialising on the basis of capitalism, having become 'the Switzerland of Africa' or an African Japan, a model of political and social stability and the envy of its neighbours.

The selective reporting on Kenya has been a permanent feature, both inside Kenya itself, and also to the world outside. The intention of imperialism and its client Kenyan regime is to hide from view the grim reality of the working and living conditions of the 17 million Kenyans.

Foreign Policy

Kenya is a model vassal neo-colonial state. Its ruling clique is in power with the help and pleasure of its imperialist masters of the USA and Western Europe. In the rivalry between the imperialist countries, British supremacy, in both economic and military spheres, has succumbed to the USA and the latter is rapidly consolidating its position. The USA has become the chief source of military equipment and training for the Kenyan armed forces and has also been granted extensive military facilities for its own direct use, including the notorious 'Rapid Deployment Force'.

At Mombasa, the USA has the use of both the seaport and the airport and is currently expanding both these facilities. The port is being dredged to enable it to accommodate the biggest US nuclear-powered aircraft carriers including the Nimitz and the Constellation, and the airport will be suitable for the largest military aircraft.

The second phase of the Kenya-USA military agreement will include massive extensions to the huge Nanyuki and Nairobi military air bases, with the USA in control. At the same time the US Military Training Programme will be expanded, with thousands of US military officers and specialists based in various parts of Kenya. As a result of the attempted coup in August last year, these plans are likely to be stepped up, and Reagan is unlikely to refuse to respond generously to the request from the Kenyan regime for increased deliveries of the more sophisticated military equipment, including jet fighters, helicopters and tanks.

In the sphere of military communications, the 'stationary' satellite in Kenyan airspace and the Mt Longonot communications station will doubtless see more activity. It should be stressed that while the Air Force rebels were in control of the Voice of Kenya radio and television stations, the powerful Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) station in the fortress that houses the US Embassy in Nairobi was busy reporting the events to the USA!

Nor should the British connection be minimised. Between Britain and Kenya there exist complex economic, military and political links. The economic and political arrangements are well known, but less well known is the formal military agreement that exists between the two countries —

an agreement that could be used to interfere in the internal affairs of Kenya if the present regime were to be removed by popular will. Britain has troops permanently stationed in Kenya at the Kenyan Army base of Gilgil facing Uganda and at Nanyuki, the army base facing Ethiopia. The ostensible purpose of this military contingent of approximately 1,000 troops is to get 'tropical training'. In fact the British and Kenyan commands work closely together. During the August attempted coup these troops had been withdrawn and despatched to fight in the Falklands!

Israel is yet another military power with a substantial presence in Kenya. It is particularly active in the training of specialist troops — paratroops, commandos and the notorious General Service Unit. In this work the Israelis provide the same training as the British SAS and its West German counterpart.

The involvement of the Kenyan regime in the attempted coup d'etat in the Seychelles, masterminded by the apartheid authorities in South Africa, is also noteworthy. The missing link is the now widely recognised military cooperation between the Zionist regime in Israel and the racist regime of South Africa.

The Land Problem

The land problem, so important in the struggle for liberation, has become more acute during the 19 years of 'independence'. It is estimated that one million peasants are landless, but probably the correct figure is double this estimate. The country no longer feeds itself and has to import even the basic commodities of maize, wheat and rice.

The 17 million Kenyans constitute one of the fastest growing and youngest populations in the world. Half the total population is under 16 years of age and the majority were born since independence in 1963. A bleak future faces the workers and peasants under present conditions.

This mixture of an increasing population alongside declining food production will necessitate even greater imports of foodstuffs which in turn will worsen the balance of payments deficit, increasing the foreign exchange problem that already faces President Moi and his fellow rulers.

What Kenya urgently requires, and what the present neo-colonial clique is incapable of producing, is a practical and massive economic development programme, geared to meet the needs of the working people of Kenya and resolve their problems. The land question and the construction of the national industrial base must be resolved, together with the problem of mass unemployment. Indeed these problems are dialectically related and can only be resolved in conjunction with one another.

How else can we Kenyans do away with the 4-5 million jobless people, in both the urban and rural areas? How are we to assure jobs to the 250,000 young people who join the job hunters each year? High academic qualifications and university degrees do not ensure employment.

How is the substantial working class and the huge peasantry — and other working people — to be fed, clothed, housed and provided with essential services if they cannot work and produce? How can the productive capacity of the country be built up and consolidated if the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) — to cut government spending, including food and other subsidies — are meekly complied with?

Mr Duncan Ndegwa, the perennial Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya, can only complain that these cuts 'impose tremendous adverse effects' on the government's reputation with the masses. Nevertheless, the IMF's instructions are carried out.

The criminal conduct of the Kenyan regime is illustrated by this recent development. In August, 1982 the monthly minimum wage for adults in Nairobi and Mombasa, where the highest wages in the country are paid, were raised from £23 to £25 or by *9 per cent*. At the same time, the price of the staple food, maize meal, was raised from 25 pence to 31 pence a bag, or by *25 per cent*.

The utter inhumanity, the insanity, of this action by the Moi government, when only half of the Nairobi job-seekers can find even temporary employment, is impossible to justify. With a 50 per cent rate of unemployment, a large proportion of the population of one million of this capital and largest city in Kenya survives by scavenging food from rubbish bins.

The city of Nairobi, like all urban centres in Kenya, is a veritable paradise for the rich Kenyan and foreigner, and a living hell for the masses of the people. The 'worker' will probably be unemployed, hungry, housed in a shanty town, will have to queue for necessities, have no medical care, and generally live in poverty. The worker will also know that his boss, be he bourgeois or government bureaucrat, lives in a palace, complete with security guards and servants; eats imported caviar and drinks French champagne; and despises *the national culture* and languages!

Socio-Political Problems

In biting sarcasm, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, in his new book *Devil on the Cross,* rebukes our exploiters in these brief words:

"Mass famine is jewellery for the wealthy!"

The author castigates those who adopt the bourgeois culture of their imperialist masters and contrasts their depravity and inhumanity with the philosophy of the workers. He writes:

"The workers' catechism goes like this:
I believe that we, the workers, are of one clan,
And hence we should not allow ourselves
To be divided by religion, colour or tribe.
I believe that in the organisation of the workers
Lies our strength,
For those who are organised never lose their way,
And those who are not organised are scattered by the sound of one bullet.
I therefore believe in the unity of the workers,
Because unity is our strength.
I believe that imperialism and its local representatives are the enemies of the progress of the workers and peasants and of the whole nation.
I therefore vow always to struggle against neo-colonialism,
For neo-colonialism is the last vicious kick of a dying imperialism."

This poetical statement, showing Ngugi's growing political development towards the positions of the Marxist-Leninists, is accompanied by a truly historical call to our people to organise in order to successfully attain our UHURU (freedom). This is Ngugi's conclusion:

"And there is only one cure: a strong organisation of the workers and peasants of the land".

Without a strong political organisation of this character, Kenya will remain in the state of "Not Yet Uhuru" that was so clearly demonstrated in Jaromogi Oginga Odinga's historic testament when he resigned from his impossible position as Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya.

The Kenya regime is determined to suppress not only all opposition but, in addition, all those who do not seem enthusiastic supporters of the government. In summary fashion government ministers, members of Parliament, state employees, lecturers, newspaper editors and reporters are removed from their positions. And it must be borne in mind that the regime has a finger in every pie.

Earlier this year the last skin of the mask of democracy was stripped away when the government feared that a democratic political party might be formed under the leadership of Oginga Odinga. In a panic, Parliament was hastily recalled from recess and, in one sitting, was dragooned into changing the constitution, making the nebulous KANU ruling party the only legal political party. In one fell swoop Kenya became a de jure one-party state.

The explanation is simple. KANU could not stand up to any serious competition from a democratic political party like the one being mooted at the time. In any case, how could Arap Moi stand up to Oginga Odinga in a straight contest for popular support?

What is remarkable is that the same ruling clique never tire of denouncing what they call "totalitarian one-party states", ignoring the fact that the parties in the socialist countries they denounce constantly obtain the votes of the majority.

The Kenyan authorities are not only afraid of opposition parties and trade unions. They are also extremely fearful of ideas. Unlike their imperialist masters (USA, Britain, West Germany, Israel etc.) who allow Communist Parties to organise, the Kenyan government does not even tolerate progressive literature. Thus when the journalist Wangondu Kariuki was hauled before the court on July 7, 1982, the charge against him was that of possession of books by Marx, Lenin and Gaddafi. No wonder the 'hot line' between Nairobi and Pretoria is buzzing all the time. Moi and Botha collaborate in the task of keeping communism out of Africa!

The Meaning of the Coup

The response of the Kenyan masses to the announcement on August 1, 1982, that the Moi regime had been toppled was the clearest testimony to the hatred with which they regard their rulers. Everywhere the people responded with immediate and undisguised popular celebration! The people did not wait to see who had taken over, how successful the take-over was, or in what direction the country was now to go. No, their hatred of their rulers (both under Jomo Kenyatta and Moi) was so intense that their removal was, by itself, a cause for rejoicing and jubilation. Everyone had long been aware of the instability of the regime in spite of all the talk of its solid control of the levers of power, and the empty claims of the popularity of Jomo Kenyatta's philosophy of 'Harambee' (let us all pull together) and Daniel Arap Moi's even more absured 'Nyayo' philosophy, of following in the footsteps of Kenyatta in 'love and harmony'.

The regime has been unpopular almost since independence, when the working people realised that Kenyatta and his colleagues had no intention of implementing the popular promises they made before they got into power. More recently the government has been fully occupied with acute economic and socio-political problems. At the beginning of 1982 the government was not even able to pay the wages of its employees, including the civil service, teachers and even the armed forces; it was a miracle that the coup attempt did not occur then.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been making all kinds of unpleasant demands on the government, including refusing to hand over previously promised and badly needed loans. In the factories, farms and elsewhere the trade unions have been engaged in battle, with the government imposing new laws to prevent industrial action by the workers, arresting popular trade union leaders and imposing unpopular leaders in their place. Some trade unions have been permanently barred from striking or taking other industrial action.

It is not only the industrial and transport workers, medical and office staff etc. who have been involved in struggles with the government. On the contrary, it is perhaps the rural workers who have caused the government the most concern, although the regime has ensured that as little as possible of these strikes and riots and the state's repressive actions was reported.

The Kenyan rulers could not, however, keep a lid on the activities of the rebellious youth, especially in the university and the colleges. Even the repeated closure of these institutions of higher learning could not stop the protests and other militant action by the students, representing our youth. And did not the youth en masse support the coup d'etat of August 1982, although hundreds of them were shot in the process?

The coup d'etat itself was carried out by the youngest and best educated section of the armed forces, that is, the Air Force. The civilian youth, especially in Nairobi and Nanyuki, at once associated themselves with the rebels. When the rebels were forced to retreat, the masses hid them and protected them from the wrath of Moi and his 'loyal' troops.

Fear of the People

The attempted coup d'etat completely exposed both the dependence of the regime on foreign imperialist powers (particularly the USA, Britain, West Germany and Israel as far as military matters are concerned) and its fear of its own people. In addition to the wholesale massacre during the fighting, it is now common knowledge that thousands upon thousands of people were arrested after the fighting stopped and imprisoned without trial in bulging prisons and concentration camps not dissimilar to those in which the British colonial authorities imprisoned Kenyan patriots during the Mau Mau struggle for national liberation.

The events of August also revealed the in-fighting among the rulers of Kenya. The more hard-faced and pro-USA wing would like to place themselves at the top and remove Moi whom they regard as not sufficiently brutal. They want a Kenyan 'Reagan' in the presidency. This internecine war amongst the Kenyan bourgeoisie, however, found our people unprepared and confused, and this explains why so many workers and peasants saw the coup as a deliverance from their exploitation and oppression. The people were unable, in the midst of the turmoil, to see who was behind the coup. And the same applied to the rebel troops themselves.

The main point to emphasise, however, is that the working people of Kenya desire an end to neo-colonial exploitation and oppression; the removal of the foreign military presence which threatens our neighbours and our own freedom. They fervently want a sovereign Kenyan state and an independent economy serving their needs and interests. They wish to work and live in peace.

The Moi neo-colonial regime, just like its Kenyatta predecessor, could not hide or for ever continue to deny these natural and universal demands. Increasingly the regime's attempts to distract the masses with such irrelevancies as "western culture", "Communist penetration" and 'Nyoyo' philosophy are failing utterly. Kenya, like all countries of the world, will inevitably move over to a socialist mode of economic and social organisation and development.

It was in this vein that Oginga Odinga closed his book *Not Yet Uhuru*, the last sentence of which reads:

"For our cause is the cause of the people of Kenya and so must triumph, however long and hard the struggle".

We Kenyans are encouraged by the brilliant achievements of *real socialism* in Europe, Asia and the Americas. Our convictions are further fortified by the fact that already at the beginning of the 1980's, twenty five per cent of the peoples of Africa, occupying more than thirty per cent of the territory on the continent, live in states of socialist orientation and are laying the foundation of socialism.
Long live proletarian internationalism!
Long live Marxism-Leninism!
Victory is certain!

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

by Eric Stilton

Despite mass opposition and a protracted campaign led by the ANC, the Bantu Education Act became law in South Africa in 1953. The object of the Act was to bring African education totally under state control and regulation with the aim of ensuring, first of all, the ideological enslavement of the African people and, secondly, an adequate supply of African labour with just sufficient education to qualify it to occupy the poorest paid, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Recognising this, the ANC and the Congress Alliance launched a struggle, once the Act was passed, to prevent its implementation. This struggle was based on a dual strategy — organise the boycott of Bantu Education schools; provide alternative (illegal under the Act) education for African school-goers.

Notwithstanding this opposition, the state was able quite rapidly to entrench and expand the system of Bantu Education. By 1956, three years after the Act was passed, the number of Africans attending schools had increased from 850,000 to 1,100,000 and most of this was in Bantu Education schools since the Act rendered private schools illegal for the most part and direct police as well as court intervention led to the closure of these private schools. In 1965, there were 1,915,000 African children at Bantu Education schools (of these, 96% were in primary school) and in 1975 there were 3,697,000 African school-goers of whom 91% were in primary classes.

As Bantu Education was consolidated and expanded, the liberation movement's struggle against it became increasingly confined to statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of the education being provided for African youth. This was due, in part, to the changing focus of the liberation struggles, particularly after 1960, including, importantly, the banning of the ANC in that year. Nonetheless, for whatever reason, by the 1960's the liberation movement's policy and strategy in regard to Bantu Education were limited, in practice, to boycott — on the one hand, as already stated, a policy of rejection of Bantu Education, coupled, on the other hand, with an absence of analysis of the contradiction *within* Bantu Education and hence of a strategy of intervention in the conflicts between African students and the administration.

Although the Bantu Education schools and colleges were the scene of continual confrontation and struggle between students and the authorities throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, it was not until the uprisings of the Soweto students in 1976 that it became clear that it was insufficient for the ANC simply to express its opposition to Bantu Education "from the outside", as it were. Changing conditions made imperative a new approach to the question of education. Firstly, the 1976 and subsequent struggles of the students demonstrated the importance of political action inside Bantu Education. The need to clarify the tactical and strategic demands of this struggle is reinforced by the recent discussions of possible changes in the education system which have arisen within the power structure. Secondly, the flow of African students, by way of protest against Bantu Education, out of South Africa and towards the ANC has imposed upon the ANC the necessity of defining educational principles which are not merely oppositional but which give expression to the revolutionary values of the national liberation movement and which provide the basis for educational policies and practices which will contribute to the revolutionary struggle. This article is concerned with the second of the two issues raised by the Soweto struggles but, as will appear, they are not unrelated.

Outside of South Africa, the ANC responded to the new demands made upon it by establishing an Education Department. In 1978, the Education Council of the Department, at its inaugural meeting, adopted the

Educational Policy of the African National Congress (SA) and further resolved to give effect to the principles contained in this document by setting up an ANC school on a site in Morogoro granted by the Government of Tanzania. In due course the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafco) was established.

Vital Questions

From the beginning different approaches emerged first in the discussion about the principles of ANC educational policy and, later, in the interpretation of these in their concrete application in the current situation, and, in particular, in the development of Somafco. The questions involved are of vital importance to the whole liberation movement, but up to the present, discussions have been largely confined to the Education Department and to educational "experts" in the movement, despite the fact that lip-service is paid to the proposition that education *policy* is primarily a political question which cannot be left to be determined by educationalists. The issues are by no means resolved; indeed, many of the questions involved still require clarification and it is urgent that the debate should be opened up in order to arrive at correct policies. The purpose of this article is to make an initial contribution and, hopefully, help to stimulate a much needed discussion.

On the face of it, the ANC policy document seems quite unequivocal. The relevant sections of the document read as follows:

> The ANC Education Policy . . . provides the guidelines for action in the field of Education and Culture and must be interpreted within the context of the General Policy of the movement.
>
> *General Aims of the ANC Education Policy*
> The entire educational programme, under the direction, guidance and control of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa will be geared towards the following objectives:-
>
> > a. To prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of the struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase.
> >
> > b. To produce such cadres as will be able to serve society in all fields, i.e. political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberatory struggle in the pre- and post-liberation periods.
>
> General Principles of the ANC Education Policy
>
> > 1. *Revolutionary*
> > The policy shall be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.

2. *Mass Accessibility*
   The ANC educational programme as an on-going process shall cater for both young and old irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.
3. *Science and Culture*
   The educational programme shall draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge and progressive cultural traditions of the people of South Africa and the world.
4. *Integrated Education*
   Education shall combat the division between mental and manual training and the artificial separation between arts and sciences.
5. *Democratic*
   While observing the priority to impart basic knowledge at each given level in each field, the programme shall promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.
6. *Dynamism*
   The educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world.

It is one thing to define general aims and principles; it is quite another matter to apply them to concrete situations. In the attempt to do so, three lines of policy which establish different priorities of African National Congress education have been derived from one and the same *Education Policy of the African National Congress.* These divergences arise from different analyses of the current situation which lead to conflicting views of the "needs of the liberatory struggle". Rather, to be more precise, two of the positions base themselves on the current situation, the third confines itself to the post-liberation period and argues that ANC education policy in the present situation must be determined by the needs of the post-revolutionary phase of the struggle.

Basic Propositions

The latter approach starts from the proposition that the fundamental aim of ANC education policy must be to equip Africans, who have the capability, to enter university and other post-matric educational institutions. Education must, therefore, be geared towards providing a sound secondary education which will serve as the means of preparing students for post-school education. Admittedly, this is a highly distilled expression of the argument, nevertheless, it captures its essential point.

The reasons why the basic aim of ANC education must be conceived of in this way are twofold. Firstly, the effect of the operation of the apartheid system is to exclude all but a tiny number of Africans from skilled occupations, particularly, but not only, professional occupations of all types — medical, legal, engineering, electronic, administrative and so forth. One of the key mechanisms of exclusion of Africans from these occupations is Bantu Education. The limitations of Bantu Education, specifically the diminished place given to maths and science, the poor quality of teaching, particularly in relation to languages, the extreme shortage of resources and the fact that because of poverty, African youth are forced prematurely into the labour market (thus as late as 1980, of 3,532,234 African school pupils, only 555,139 were in secondary schools, the remaining 2,977,095 being in primary schools), combine together to preclude Africans from gaining access to higher and other post-school education. It follows that one crucial element of white domination is manifested in a monopoly of skilled and professional occupations and, furthermore, Bantu Education is the key mechanism of the reproduction of this situation.

Secondly, this obviously has enormous political and technical consequences for the immediate post-liberation period. The command posts of the economy and the political system cannot, after the revolution, be left in the hands of the functionaries of white domination. It will be necessary to displace these functionaries and to fill the positions in the economic and political apparatuses with agents of the liberatory struggle. To do this the liberation movement must have at its disposal men and women capable of taking over these posts and this can only be achieved in the way already indicated — a good secondary education followed by post-school education or training.

It is in relation to this need of the liberation movement in the post-liberation period that the role of Somafco becomes defined as vital — it will provide the basic education for young Africans which is denied them by Bantu Education. Thus Somafco will serve to prepare Africans for the higher education to which they will advance after completing the school course which is denied them by Bantu Education.

Before going on to examine the implications of this position, it will be convenient to consider a rather different approach which starts from an analysis of the current political situation but which comes to conclusions which are virtually identical to those outlined above. In this second view, the argument does not turn explicitly on the issue of the future needs of a liberated South Africa, although that consideration is implicitly, and quite properly, present. Furthermore, while the crippling effects of Bantu Education and the monopoly control of whites over skilled occupations are both recognised, indeed are crucial to the view of ANC education adopted, nonetheless, the formulation of ANC policy argued for is based, in this view, on an analysis of the current political situation and the political necessities and moral obligation which flow from that situation.

A Political Act

The crucial facts in the sphere of education which must structure any ANC educational policy are as follows. A large proportion of the young Africans who left South Africa in the aftermath of Soweto and in subsequent years turned (and still turn) towards the ANC. Undoubtedly, the act of leaving South Africa to escape Bantu Education must be understood as highly political and the significance of the fact that these youth made their way to the ANC must not be lost sight of. At the same time it is of fundamental importance to understand that the politics of these acts is coupled with an individualistic motivation — they want, understandably, a good education and they believe that the ANC can supply it. Indeed, equally importantly, this expectation does not belong to the exiled students alone, but was and is held most strongly by their parents and the African urban masses generally. There exists, that is, a strong belief that the ANC will provide the young, now, and not merely in the future liberated South Africa, with an alternative education to Bantu Education.

Given this, the ANC is faced with a political necessity to provide the alternative education in order to keep faith with and to consolidate its support among the people in South Africa (as well, of course, as the students themselves). This conclusion is complemented by a moral argument. Given the fact that thousands of young people are exiling themselves from South Africa and that they look to the ANC for education and protection, the ANC cannot simply abandon them even if it has to divert resources from political priorities to cater for them. The ANC is morally obligated to provide these youth with a good, alternative education. Hence, Somafco must be structured to meet the educational needs of these young exiles. Here we see, despite other differences, the point of convergence with the first line discussed above, for both make a good secondary education a priority.

Each of these positions gives rise to an immediate question of a similar kind. In relation to the first approach it has to be asked: what are the guarantees that Somafco educated students who become professionally qualified or otherwise trained in different countries will be not only technically skilled but also politically equipped and motivated to secure and develop the gains of the liberation struggle, in the post liberation period, "in the interests. . .of the South African people as a whole"? In relation to the second approach, the question is the same except that it relates not only to the post-liberation period but also to the period of the struggle for state power.

The answer, in both cases, is that what guarantees the future involvement and commitment of students who have gone through Somafco is the fact that their secondary education will have taken place in no ordinary secondary school, but in the school of the ANC. That fact alone, it is argued, is of fundamental importance but there is much more, for the school will stress to the students its political orientation, involve them in the study of the history of the South African revolutionary movement and the struggles of the people; through study classes, debates and activities, raise their political understanding generally and of the role of the ANC in particular and thus secure their allegiance to the liberation struggle in both phases of that struggle.

Necessary Stages

However, these approaches are open to question on a number of grounds. Firstly, in so far as educational strategy focuses exclusively on the requirements of the post-liberation period, this entails a necessary diversion from the needs of the national liberation struggle, in its different phases, in the pre-liberation period. The South African struggle for state power is extremely complex, involving both the armed struggle and a variety of forms of political action, and, furthermore it will pass through a number of stages each of which will generate demands for political cadres with particular skills appropriate to that stage. It is, thus, clearly insufficient for the education policy of the movement to be geared only to the post-liberation period.

Secondly, insofar as revolutionary education is viewed *primarily* as a means of compensating for Bantu Education and as an instrument for gaining access to post-school and higher education, to that extent the political function of education becomes more or less completely subordinated. The theory of revolutionary education recognises that a "pure" technical education is impossible. All the arguments, rife in capitalist societies, in support of "unbiased", value-free and ideology-free education amount to little more than a masking of the function of ideology in selecting the content, mode of teaching, students and so forth in the educational system. A revolutionary education no less operates in terms of values, but these values and criteria differ from conventional systems in a number of respects which will be touched on below.

Within an educational system the contradiction between "pure" technical learning and education directed towards revolutionary purposes (the "new type of South Africa", combating "the division between manual and mental labour" etc) is ever present and which side of the contradiction becomes dominant depends on the conditions within and without the teaching institutions. In the current situation an extremely powerful condition external to the educational system of the liberation movement is the set of requirements laid down by the higher educational institutions to which students will go after completing secondary school, and over which the movement has no control. The fact that the school has to be geared towards satisfying the standards of external bodies — examination boards, university admission boards and other similar bodies — has profound consequences.

The demands of external, purely educational institutions, tend to become the determinant of the internal functioning of the school. The effects on a school are likely to be extremely wide-ranging — the main criterion of staff recruitment becomes technical competence rather than level of political consciousness, the structures of the school assume a totally conventional shape since they are predominantly aimed at conventional objectives. This gives rise to conventional modes of discipline (the depoliticization of discipline), an emphasis on individualised learning and achievement, competition between individuals, in particular, in relation to scholarships, and the like.

Thirdly, if the emphasis is on education for the individual exile, then the choice of post-school education is left to the student and tends not to be determined by the movement. This further individualises the education. The depoliticizing effects of this are later reinforced by the fact that higher education takes place, more or less, at a distance from the influence of the national liberation movement and, since the courses which the students take are unrelated to the immediate needs of the movement, they will be obliged to take up employment where they can find it in order to utilize the training they have received.

Where these factors are present the conditions become favourable for the formation, however unwittingly, of a class of professionals whose social position and conditions of existence are such that pre-occupation with the advancement of their own careers and of their families will tend to override their commitment to the "interests and needs of the South African people as a whole". The experience of many former colonial countries testifies to the fact that the mere indigenization of the occupants of economic and political command posts by no means guarantees the revolution. The class position of this sector is a powerful, if not the total determinant, of its mode of action and, in order to offset the tendency for those who fill these occupations to act in the narrow interests of their class, it is necessary to fill these posts with tried and tested militant cadres of the movement. It is the link between these cadres and the movement that constitutes one of the guarantees of the revolution.

Political Understanding

It follows from these considerations that in a revolutionary movement, particularly one in exile, education must, above all, stress the political. This means that the major aim of ANC education must be to develop the political understanding and commitment of the students. This is all the more so where the motivation of students to join the school is, as has already been pointed out, a mixture of political opposition and personal ambition. In these circumstances political education must operate so that the personal ambitions of the students become, in their own outlook, subordinated to the objectives of the movement. For this to be achieved, however, it is not sufficient to inject some political education into an otherwise conventional education. Rather, the political educational apparatus has to be powerfully developed. In the absence of that, and despite some political education, individual ambition is likely to be reinforced.

Important as it is, political education is only part of the problem. For to leave all the structures and values of conventional education intact is to assume the separability of education from ideology and politics and is to leave intact, as was pointed out above, the very conditions which tend to subvert the effects of the political education. A school of the national liberation movement is not a conventional school with a layer of politics over it. That is to say, a revolutionary school is not merely the negation of Bantu Education. The negation of Bantu Education is not the education received by white South Africans freed of racism, even though, in the conditions of South Africa that education gives access to higher education etc.

A revolutionary school is revolutionary in content, organization, structure, modes of discipline, conceptions of teaching and objectives. Thus a revolutionary school must question hierarchical organization ("promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers..."), combat the division between mental and manual training, understand the creative role of students in the learning process, and, to repeat, "be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole."

So far, the discussion has focussed on the question of revolutionary education which attempts to provide both desirable skills and yet conceives of this education as both political and revolutionary. The discussion was premised on the contention that, given the flow of South African exiles, it is right that the national liberation movement provides them with educational facilities.

While it can be accepted that large masses of Africans do hold high expectations that the ANC will, in the present situation and outside South Africa, provide the exiled youth with an alternative to Bantu Education, it must be asked whether that fact should be regarded as the most important determinant of ANC educational policy. This factor has to be weighed against other conditions of the current situation and, in particular, the need for the movement to renew and replenish its ranks of political cadres — a need which arises out of the rapidly expanding influence of the ANC internally and externally and out of the increasing complexity of the struggle. Whether or not a cadre school should be the sole preoccupation of ANC education, it seems clear that mass education of exiles should not be the sole objective of its education policy. That is to say, whatever else may be done, a school which produces active militants, politically and technically equipped, is a fundamental necessity of the movement.

(This article is intended as an introduction to a discussion on the aims and methods of education which should be undertaken under the auspices of the liberation movement. Further contributions from our readers are invited on this subject — *Editor.)*

WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT NEEDS A REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

by Kay Mofokeng

When I joined the Party I was not a member of any organisation. I belonged to political study groups. There we discussed the *Communist Manifesto* which laid bare the machinations of the capitalist system and how to destroy that system and build a system that cares for human life — Socialism.

I was born into a religious family which believes that all will be corrected or rectified by God. When I started working I realised that religion is used to defend the propertied classes. For example the capitalist I worked for came with his own religion saying that God is a necessity and that if God does not exist, he should be made to exist. Through my own experience of toiling under him, I discovered that he uses religion to protect his own interests. I say this because I was the first worker in his enterprise. Then he employed people of Indian origin and Muslim faith. I taught them their work but their wages were different from mine. This disparity in wages provoked deep thinking in me.

At that time the ANC was engaged in a campaign to organise workers, but because of the lack of a scientific way out of the capitalist hazards which face the worker, I was not inspired to belong to a broad national movement.

The experience I accumulated at work and the ideological shortcomings of the national movement drove me to join political study groups organised by a member of the Party (+ ANC). It was there that I understood that the programme of the ANC i.e., the Freedom Charter is the minimum programme of the Party, whose ultimate aim is the creation of Socialism. I understood that the *Communist Manifesto* gives a guide to the solution of the class struggle between workers and capitalists — the socialist revolution. I comprehended that the national movement does a tremendous task by smashing the colonial yoke but it does not abolish the exploitation of man by man.

Let us take the example of Zambia and Zaire — countries which have vast deposits of copper and other minerals. They used to be ruled by the imperialists but after many years of independence their economies are still controlled by the imperialists. The local bourgeoisie are exploiting the workers while at the same time the national government is nothing but an executive looking after the interests of foreign capital. When the workers demand their rights this very "national government" suppresses them.

The workers are the majority though they are oppressed. These countries profess to be free and democratic but the government still protects the interests of the exploiting few. Often elections to organs of power exclude the toilers because there are property qualifications for this. Workers own no property. Bourgeois equality turns out to be equality of the propertied exploiters. So it is with education — education for the rich. Having analysed development in Africa I became more convinced that the true liberation of mankind can only be the one outlined in the *Communist Manifesto* — a resolution of class struggle in a revolution that leads to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

In my own country a country with all strategic minerals minus oil, controlled by a handful of monopolies and whose government claims adherence to Christian and democratic principles, the evils of capitalism are most obvious. The government is an open fascist dictatorship.

Marxism-Leninism revealed to me that oppression knows no colour and that if we get independence but leave the means of production in the hands of a handful of exploiters, that is no genuine freedom.

My actual integration into the vanguard of our working class, the SA Communist Party came after 1962 — the year of the adoption of our programme "The Road To South African Freedom". I was also integrated into the ANC to fill the gap left by the departure of some comrades, the task of a national movement is to bring about general democratic rights like freedom of association, speech, movement etc. Our national movement, however, has a more radical character. This we see in the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter. The Charter calls for nationalisation of monopoly property. This will break the backbone of capitalism. The other economic clause, calling for distribution of land among those who work it, is also a very revolutionary clause.

During the 1960s I was arrested for ANC activities and sentenced to 9 years on Robben Island.

Revolutionary theory is an indispensable weapon to every politician because it enables you to assess the situation and stand firm against reactionary strategies and tactics. My experience is that people who never got this theory easily turn against their own oppressed and join the enemy. The ANC has survived for seven decades thanks to a great presence of workers in its ranks and its association with the workers' vanguard. Organisations without a scientific ideology have emerged and collapsed but the revolutionary movement remains. No matter how armed a man is with whatever sophisticated weapons, if he has no revolutionary theory he cannot see the way forward.

Nationalism is narrow and exclusive because even their approach to history is different from that of the national movement under the ANC. It is exposure to revolutionary theory that enabled the ANC to weld together our people of different nationalities into one. This has enabled the movement to come up with a programme containing the demands and interests of the broad masses — workers, peasants, intelligentsia and petty-bourgeosie. The ANC knows the enemy. The PAC does not. The PAC does not look for the causes of misery in the system but sees only the pigmentation of those who perpetrate it.

Our revolutionary theory haunts the SA bourgeoisie. We can say we have defeated the enemy ideologically. What is left is to overthrow them. Material indicators of this are the mass rejection of Bantustans, the collapse of the Coloured Representative Council and the total boycott of the SA Indian Council. These show the superiority of our ideology over the enemy's ideology.

The revolutionary theory has shown us the strength of proletarian internationalism.

There is an upsurge of workers' struggles in South African trade unionism, which is spreading like wildfire all over our country. But imperialism in a bid to arrest this militancy and divert it into bouregeois channels has decided to disrupt our trade unions. They offer study "aids" and scholarships to our trade unions. Our task as a Party is to go into the midst of the workers, educate them more about the enemy, isolate the enemy clearly from the people. The workers must know the worth of their labour, they must know what surplus value is utilised for — proliferation of class exploitation and suppression of people in less developed countries.

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Human beings are not cattle, sheep or pigs, and that is a lesson all oppressors throughout history have failed to learn. Despite the fate of Hitler, Mussolini and Batista, the Nationalist government thinks that tyranny will succeed here because it is practised by Afrikaners, a superbreed. They too will learn that man is man, and will resist all efforts to trample him and his spirit under the jackboot of tyranny. No amount of brutality has prevented the spirit of liberty from expressing itself.

Govan Mbeki, 1961

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AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENT

By Du Bois

The OAU: Dollar Blackmail

Once more African unity, the cornerstone of OAU policy, has been threatened to breaking point because of the calculated boycott of the Tripoli summit by a number of African and Arab states. The Heads of State Summit scheduled for the 5th August 1982 failed to reach the necessary quorum, thus effectively preventing Colonel Muammar Al Gaddafi of Libya from officially becoming the 20th Chairman of the OAU for the forthcoming year. In all of this the hand of the United States government is easily discernible, as is that of Morocco which has been vigorously canvassing the support of African and Arab states for the boycott. In the event President Julius Nyerere aptly commented that a minority of 19 states was attempting to hold a majority of 32 states as hostages and "depriving them of their duty to act and address themselves to the burning problems of Africa."

Contrary to the designs of the United States and its allies in this episode the Summit was not completely wrecked. A mini-Summit did take place and the Heads of State and other delegations present, including those led by Presidents Sam Nujoma and Oliver Tambo of SWAPO and the ANC, deliberated and pronounced on important issues facing the African continent. A new Summit was convened again in November.

Not for the first time has the USA tried to wreck African unity and the OAU. Memory is still fresh of imperialism's attempts to prevent, through the office of a number of African states within the OAU, the recognition of the MPLA as the sovereign and legitimate government of Angola, whilst at the same time arming and supporting the South African racists, UNITA and the FNLA to destroy the Angolan revolution through force of arms.

American attempts to sabotage the Summit appear to have crystallised around two main issues — Colonel Gaddafi and POLISARIO. It is now clear that the United States orchestrated an intensified hate campaign against the Libyan leader to stop the OAU Summit from being held in Libya and so prevent Colonel Gaddafi from assuming chairmanship of the organisation as was decided upon by the Nairobi Assembly of Heads of State in July, 1981.

Soon thereafter the underlying reason for the Reagan Administration's anti-Gaddafi campaign was revealed when Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Libya's "diplomacy of subversion in Africa and in the Arab world" constituted an *"unprecedented obstruction to our own interests and objectives"* (our emphasis). The cat was out of the bag, and for fear of being misunderstood, Crocker emphasised that the United States, apart from donating substantial funds for military aid to Sudan and Tunisia, was exploring ways "to help with both economic and military support for others who are similarly threatened".

In its open opposition to a decision of the OAU and its attempts to reverse it by means including blackmail and bribery, the United States was merely asserting an old position: Africa must be left to solve its own problems, as long as the United States and imperialism are not identified as part of the problem. Clearly Colonel Gaddafi, as far as the American Administration is concerned, poses a serious threat to the new-style Monroe Doctrine in relation to Africa. Yet the USA and imperialism seldom stalk Africa alone. Predators normally gather around them a host of scavengers. And this is precisely the role which those African and Arab states who are willing tools of imperialism's military-economic strategy in Africa have opted for.

The POLISARIO, or more correctly, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic (RASD) issue became a timely and convenient focus for the coincidence of interests between American imperialism and Moroccan colonialism. The Moroccans used the invitation to the RASD to attend the Summit as a full member as the pretext for a boycott of the Summit. This coincided with the USA's interest to have the Summit removed from Libya.

Morocco has consistently refused to recognise the right of the Sahraoui people of the Western Sahara to self determination. The colonial war against the POLISARIO has been a costly one which the Morroccan military has been unable to win. Despite this the Moroccans have refused to recognise either the POLISARIO or the RASD as the legitimate expression of the Sahraoui people's aspiration and has refused to implement the OAU recommendation for a referendum amongst the people of Western Sahara for fear of an overwhelming victory for POLISARIO.

US Tactic

It is within this context that the US offer to "help with both economic and military support for others who are similarly threatened" was snapped up by Morocco. There have been numerous high-level exchanges between Washington and Rabat since Crocker's pronouncements, including a state visit by King Hassan to the USA. As a result US military aid to Morocco has tripled from 30 million to 100 million dollars. At the same time US military personnel have been arriving in Morocco in increasing numbers to organise and supervise training of the military in the latest weapons which have been poured into the country. Hassan's visit to the USA was specifically to tie up the deal granting the US two military and naval bases.

Under the impetus of American imperialism Morocco also undertook to become the catspaw of reaction in Africa, rallying around it and the US reactionary states more interested in preserving the shaky foundations of their own rule than African independence and unity. This became all too apparent at the Addis Ababa ministerial meeting of the OAU when Morocco led the walk-out of nearly twenty delegations because of the admission of the RASD delegation. By the time of the Tripoli Summit even some of the countries which previously supported or were sympathetic to the cause of the Sahraoui people had joined Morocco, Egypt and Sudan in the boycott move. Among these countries Zaire has gone even further in undermining African unity by establishing diplomatic relations with one of Africa's arch enemies, the Zionist state of Israel, contrary to OAU policy.

Yet the Libyan and RASD issues, ostensibly the main stumbling blocks to this year's OAU Summit, cannot be the real problems for African unity. What is at stake here is the attempt by imperialism, spearheaded by the United States, to maintain Africa as an enclave of domination and exploitation. The buildup of American arms, equipment and personnel; the establishment of the Rapid Deployment Force and military and naval bases with the active connivance of a number of African and Arab states poses a threat not only to African unity and the OAU, but to the future well-being and development of the African continent and its peoples. To paraphrase Simon Bolivar, that great Latin-American patriot at the time when the USA was busy wrecking any efforts to form a United States of Latin America in 1826: "The United States appear to be destined by providence to plague *Africa* with misery in the name of liberty." Today we understand providence to be armed with dollars in the one hand and the gun in the other. The principal actors in the boycott — Morocco, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan and Liberia, together with the States who joined them — Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Comoros, Djibouti, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia, Sierra Leone and Zaire — bear a heavy responsibility for the crisis within the OAU and equally, for strengthening US imperialism's strategy of domination of the African continent.

NAMIBIA: A case for keeping the spears sharpened

It seems that whenever the South African racists and their imperialist allies start shouting about an "imminent solution" of the independence issue, revolutionaries must be even more vigilant, close their ranks and hit even harder at enemy positions. Zimbabwe's patriots proved the point. Namibia confirms it.

The latest version of "real progress towards independence" for Nambia underlines this conviction. It is however interesting for two main reasons. The one concerns the utter bankruptcy of the Western Contact Group's policy. The other defines SWAPO's principled specification of the negotiations necessary for transition towards Namibian independence. At the same time it lays bare the Pretoria regime's utter lack of seriousness in the negotiations.

The new round of talks began with an invitation to President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO to visit Bonn during the first week of June, 1982. There a new set of proposals were presented by Dr Chester Crocker and the West German Foreign Minister, Herr Genscher, regarding the choice of an electoral system to the proposed Constituent Assembly, the size and deployment of the UNTAG forces and the target date for a cease-fire by both sides. At the same time they informed President Nujoma that the South Africans had dropped their objections to UN supervision of the elections and were no longer insisting on their "one person, two votes" proposal. The former point was confirmed by P.W. Botha in Pretoria shortly thereafter.

During the second week in June representatives of the Contact Group were despatched to Luanda, Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam to canvass the new deal. On June 14th the Summit of the Frontline States accepted with minor modifications the proposals with SWAPO agreeing. The next phase was to involve "proximity talks" in New York between the Foreign Ministers of The Five, SWAPO, the Frontline States and representatives of the Pretoria regime. The aim was to conclude such talks by the end of July. In the event the New York talks began on the 6th July minus the South Africans and with only minor-ranking representatives from The Five. On July 13th US officials announced a "successful conclusion" on substantial issues. After that the talks went into recess.

Not only did the South Africans fail to turn up for the New York talks, but they put into operation the other side of the "keep-them-talking" tactic — fresh obstacles were raised to the negotiation terms and aggression against Angola escalated. The South Africans — and it is now clear that they have the backing of the US government in this — are now calling for the withdrawal of Cuban forces in Angola as a precondition to the negotiations. At the same time racist forces once more invaded Angola in the early days of August.

What conclusions emerge from this latest manouevre by the South African racists and their allies? Are we not entitled to claim that it was an exercise in duplicity aimed at raising false hopes, disarming SWAPO, the Frontline States and the international solidarity movement whilst strengthening Pretoria's murderous attacks against Angola and SWAPO? The timing of the "initiative" seems significant — immediately prior to the meeting of the Frontline Heads of State where the issue of Nambian independence and the role of the Contact Group was a high priority.

The Angola-Cuban issue is of course non-negotiable. SWAPO have made it clear tht there can be no connection between Namibian independence from South African colonialism and the right of Angola to defend its soveriegn territory from South African aggression. The mini-Summit of African Heads of State at Tripoli condemned South African and American insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops as a condition for Namibia's independence. Angola has repeatedly stated that when the possibility of invasion or the threat of aggression by the South African racists is removed, the question of Cuban forces in Angola will be re-examined by the governments of Angola and Cuba. And this of course means genuine independence for Namibia and the removal of South African troops from Namibia. For its part the Cuban government has pledged through its own statements and representative at the United Nations that Cuba has no interests in Angola separate from those of the Angolan government and that Cuban forces will be removed when asked to do so by the government of Angola.

In the light of this are we not entitled to ask: who is the real threat to African independence — the Cuban or South African racist forces? Would it not be more appropriate to demand the withdrawal of the more than 100,000 South African troops, reservists and auxiliaries from Nambia as a pre-condition to free and fair elections than that of the Cuban forces whose presence is to strengthen the defence capability of Angola against South African aggression? The racists and the USA of course are attempting to reverse the role of the South Africans and Cubans.

SWAPO's Positions

If the latest talks have exposed the hand of the racists and their allies they have also served to clarify SWAPO's earnestness and consistency for all the world to see. The following are the main positions of SWAPO in regard to the independence process as submitted to the Contact Group in Luanda on the 10th June, 1982.

1. The Electoral System.

The principle of "one person, one vote" is non-negotiable. SWAPO prefers the system of proportional representation to a Constituent Assembly rather than the system of single-member constituency, because of the problems of constituency demarcations, electoral boundaries, voter registrations within such boundaries and the difficulties of establishing a true population census.

2. United Nations participation.

All negotiations are to be conducted on the basis of the UN Security Council Resolutions. This means in the first place UN supervised elections with adequate UN civilian and military personnel.

3. The UNTAG Force.

Provided that proportional representation is accepted as a basis for elections to the Constituent Assembly SWAPO accepts that the UNTAG force should consist of 7,500 men augmented by 360 UN police officers and a civilian component of 1,500. The single-member constituency system would require a much larger civilian contingent to ensure solution to the difficulties raised in (1) above.

4. Deployment of the military contingent of UNTAG.

This force is to be spread evenly throughout the country, and not concentrated in the North to guard against "SWAPO infiltration". South

African infiltration from the south and the Orange Free State is equally to be guarded against. But the question of military surveillance is only part of the wider role of the force. This includes the restriction of SWAPO and South African forces at designated assembly points; the monitoring of the cease-fire arrangements; the disarming of all civilian armed groups and the dismantling of their command structures; ensuring that elections are free and fair through support for the civilian component and supervising the withdrawal of all South African troops from Nambian territory after elections.

5. The Demilitarised Zone (DMZ)

SWAPO are in favour of a "formal and binding instrument" to be signed by both South Africa and SWAPO and authenticated by the UN Secretary-General that the agreed cease-fire arrangements be scrupulously observed by both sides. At the same time SWAPO is willing to have all armed cadres inside Namibia confined to predesignated assembly points and under UNTAG supervision, provided that they are allowed to assemble there with all their weapons.

What more, short of total capitulation, can be demanded from SWAPO? The main obstacle to Namibian independence remains the South African racists and their backers. It is high time that the United Nations Security Council takes control of the independence process and removes it from the hands of the Western Contact Group whose despicable role has been exposed on more than one occasion. What is at stake is the credibility of the United Nations itself. SWAPO has made their attitude clear in a press statement issued by the SWAPO negotiation team in London on 3rd August:

> "In summary, SWAPO's view regarding the Western moves on Namibia is that The Five are less than honest in trying to create a false sense of momentum regarding the negotiations. They have been manufacturing heavy doses of optimism, whilst in actual fact the leader of the Contact Group — the USA — is busy conniving and conspiring with the Pretoria racists in an effort to delay Namibia's independence.
>
> "On its part, SWAPO have no choice but to continue with its just armed liberation struggle until a cease-fire agreement is signed between the two contending armies in our country."

DOCUMENTS

YOUTH MUST STUDY AND LEARN FROM HISTORY

Address by MOSES MABHIDA, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, to the ANC Youth Conference held at Mazimbu, Morogoro, Republic of Tanzania from 17th - 23rd August 1982.

The theme and message brought to this conference is that you should never ever fail to register the achievements of our predecessors and that you should take practical steps to raise the level of their contribution to the final victory of our National Democratic Revolution.

Today, my special task is to comment on the place of the South African Communist Party in the struggle, its perspective and policies.

I shall begin with a short account of our origins and growth. As you know we celebrated our 60th anniversary a little more than a year ago on the 30th July, 1981. It was a time for rejoicing and stock-taking — a review of a turning point in our history. Allow me to mention very briefly some of the outstanding events:

- The formation of the War on War League in 1914 and the International Socialist League in 1915;
- The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, and the founding of the Communist International in 1919;
- The formation of the Communist Party of South Africa and its affiliation to the Comintern in 1921;
- The adoption of the Black Republic policy in 1928 whereby the party placed on record its commitment to the national democratic revolution as an integral part of the struggle for socialism;
- The outbreak of World War II in 1939, and the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945;
- The banning of the Party in 1950 and the African National Congress in 1960;
- The launching of armed struggle in 1961 by the African National Congress with its military wing the MK and with the participation of the Party;
- The mass struggle, heroic resistance, and the revolutionary upsurge of the decades 1960 to the present time.

This calendar of historical landmarks shows that the Party grew out of a principled resistance to imperialist war, a stand taken also by the Bolshevik section of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party though not, with very few exceptions, by other members of the Second Socialist International in 1914. Secondly, the Party identified itself wholly with the Great October Socialist Revolution from the outset and took the necessary steps to qualify for membership of the Communist International well in advance of political movements throughout Africa.

Its affiliation to the Communist International, known widely as the Comintern, naturally made a deep impact on the newly born Party, especially in the controversial area of relations between class struggle and national liberation. At its second congress in 1920 the Comintern adopted a thesis which, as Lenin explained, required Communists to support liberation movements in the colonies provided that they were genuinely revolutionary.

The resolution brought about a sharp break between Communist Parties and Social Democrats in countries of Western Imperialism. In our case, the Comintern's thesis guided our party to the adoption in 1928 of unqualified support for the achievement of majority rule in a liberated

South Africa. That decision was a major turning point in our history and prepared the way for our close alliance with the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress.

Underground Work

For more than half its age, the Party has been forced to work underground, combining legal with illegal forms of struggle. Though difficult, the past 30 years have also been fruitful. During this period, the Party consolidated its alliance with the national liberation movement, took up arms against the enemy and intensified its participation in the democratic revolution.

The constraints of illegality were bound to make a deep imprint on all sections of the movement. We, like others, had to make suitable changes in our structure, strategy, style of work and security to survive the vicious attacks of the regime. In spite of difficulties, however, the Party has remained steadfast to the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

There are, in all, about 90 Parties in different countries that regard themselves as Communist; that is to say, they subscribe to the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory in spite of big differences between them in terms of history, tradition, culture and social structure.

Our enemies accuse us often, and repeatedly, of slavish submission to Moscow, of taking instructions from an alleged foreign power. I can assure you with complete sincerity that the allegation is wholly fictitious. The enemies of socialism and communism usually say the Communist Parties are foreign organisations. In our case they would like to say and they say, the party is for the whites and not for the Africans. I would like to refute this in the presence of you young people. Our Party is an integral part of the international Communist Movement. It is the SACP, fighting against racism, for the liberation of the oppressed African people, for the elimination of capitalism, its multi-national corporations and white autocracy. Our party, like any other Communist Party, is wholly autonomous, completely self-governing, and free at all times to adopt a system of organisation, programme, policy and strategy suited to the conditions under which we operate.

These conditions are not the same for any two parties. The differences between conditions inevitably give rise to major variations in all aspects of political life. For instance, a Communist Party in power has responsibility and an authority very different from those of Communists in opposition to a ruling capitalist party. Important differences likewise exist between a

Communist Party that operates legally within a capitalist state and one, like ourselves, that must contend with illegality.

Nevertheless, all Communist Parties that recognise the validity of Marxism-Leninism and live up to its principles share a common outlook and unity of purpose.

What are these principles and how do they guide us in the special circumstances of the South African democratic revolution? For an answer we need to examine the concepts of Communist theory and party organisation contained in the writings of the founders of Communism or, as many prefer to call it, scientific socialism.

Vanguard Party

Lenin used the term "vanguard", meaning "advance guard" in his famous essay *What is to be done*. Published in 1902, it sets out his ideas on the nature of a revolutionary Marxist party in contrast to social-reformist tendencies within the labour movement. The vanguard is a tightly organised, highly disciplined band of revolutionaries who dedicate their lives to the overthrow of the racist autocracy.

Revolutionary Theory

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". That is an established principle formulated in *What is to be done*. Lenin in his words said: "The role of vanguard fighters can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory".

Our party derives its theory from practice, the history of struggle for independence from foreign rule, the literature of scientific socialism and socialist theorists past and present. Our members are required to attain a high level of understanding and political consciousness.

Party Programme

Our programme, adopted in 1962 under the title "The Road to South African Freedom", states and explains the theoretical construction that guides our activities, examines the country's social structure and class formation, deals with the forces of change and submits its immediate proposals for the reconstruction of South Africa under a revolutionary people's government.

Every member should have a clear conception of the Party's aim and strategy in every stage of the struggle. The Programme is the ideological basis of Party unity and organisation.

Party Units

An essential condition of membership is that every one of us belong to and work under the guidance of the party unit, a primary organisation through which we are linked to the mass movement, the working class and peasants. The unit also provides basic training of cadres and implements party policies. Consisting of a small, compact core of reliable and experienced members, the unit is connected under rules of strict secrecy with a regional committee and through it with the central leadership.

Democratic Centralism

All members are expected to exercise their constitutional right to discuss any aspect of party work and policy and all issues of concern to the struggle within their units and leading organs. The right of discussion is not, however, allowed to become an instrument of frustration or an obstacle to action. A decision once arrived at is binding for all members and must be carried out until it is modified by a higher organ or by a representative meeting of elected delegates from different regions.

Democratic Centralism, which combines freedom of debate with unity in action and cast-iron discipline, is a major characteristic of a revolutionary communist party.

Disciplined Loyalty

A revolutionary organisation must have a high level of unity, ideological agreement and discipline to achieve its aims. To attain such a standard the party relies on political understanding, hatred of the enemy and commitment to the cause of the working class, national democratic revolution, an ideal of a free, just and classless society of equals, and readiness to subordinate personal ambitions to the struggle.

That is what we understand by discipline. It rests on inner strength and conviction, reinforced by the support of the unit and leadership. Every member is expected to conduct himself in such a way as to inspire confidence in his or her capacity to lead within the organisation and general community.

Candidates for Membership

From what I have said it must be clear that the Party does not aspire to become a mass movement. On the contrary, we open our doors, though willingly, but selectively only to those who have demonstrated in work and deed a readiness to accept the strict standard of discipline expected of members, acquire a sufficient understanding of the fundamental concepts of scientific socialism, and accept the unwritten moral code prescribed for members.

Persons who wish to join therefore are required to undergo a probationary period in which they prove their fitness and acquire the knowledge and understanding of a Communist. I should add that to become a seasoned revolutionary many years of experience and work in the movement are necessary.

The Party and National Liberation

The South African revolution combines two kinds of struggle, one against advanced industrial capitalism, the other against a vicious colonial hangover composed of colour bars and race discrimination, held together and enforced by a ruthless police state and military aggression.

Though there is nothing like this elsewhere in the world today, a close parallel existed in pre-revolutionary Russia as described in the 1902 Draft Programme of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. I quote a passage from the Draft to illustrate the point:-

> "In our country numerous remnants of the pre-capitalist, self-owning social system retard the development of the productive forces in the highest degree, render impossible the complete and all-round development of the proletariat's class struggle, and lower the working population's standard of living".

These remarks, with minor adjustments, apply as well to South Africa's serf-owning system, the most formidable bulwark of all this babarism, the bitterest and most dangerous enemy of the proletarian emancipation movement and the cultural development of the entire people!

What strategy did the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party — soon to be known as the Bolsheviks — adopt to cope with this mixture of pre-capitalist survivals and an industrial economic base? They adopted a two-forked strategy. Their immediate political task, they declared was "the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a republic based on a democratic constitution" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol, 6, pp.27-33). This policy formed the theoretical basis of the advance from the February revolution to the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, from the achievement of a bourgeois democratic republic to the establishment of the working class dictatorship and the advance of socialism.

Our party is likewise committed to the overthrow of the racist regime as a necessary condition for the advance to a socialist formation. The party's support for the national democratic revolution is therefore based on firm theoretical concepts, such as the Bolshevik Programme of 1902 and the thesis of the Communist International on the national question to which I referred earlier.

Our alliance with the national liberation movement has stood the test of time and the strains of illegality. There are no significant differences of policy or strategy between us, we are comrades in arms, share a common purpose, confront the same enemy and are committed to a single goal, the overthrow of the racist autocracy and the achievement of a people's democracy under majority rule.

Our party made an important contribution to the formulation of the Freedom Charter, the liberation movement's blueprint for reconstruction after the revolution. In our programme of 1962 we recognise that the Charter is suitable as a general statement of the aims of a state of national democracy.

There is one issue, however, on which the Party follows communist doctrines in preference to the Charter's proposals. The issue is concerned with the nature of the State organisation to be established after the democratic seizure of power. In our opinion, it will be necessary to destroy the apparatus of the racist state and replace it with new political institutions to safeguard the revolution and clear the way for a new social order.

In accordance with this principle, the Programme declares:-

> "The revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing state and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place .... Every vestige of apartheid and racial discrimination should be scrupulously removed from every field of state service and public life .... The aim of the state should be to replace all officials who are disloyal to democratic non-racial principles."

Our perspective on the reconstruction of the state machinery after the seizure of power is based on long-established Communist theory which is markedly different from the approach of social democratic and indeed of national liberation movements.

Some of our people think that the party and ANC have come to an unwritten agreement, amounting to a division of labour, according to which the ANC will head the struggle for a democratic revolution, the so-called February phase, while the Party will be responsible for leading the advance to socialism. That impression ought to be corrected. There is no such agreement nor does the Party contemplate a neat progression from one "stage" to another. Our proposals for the destruction of the apartheid state are intended to have immediate effect during the struggle for the seizure of power rather than being postponed to the possible advent of another "October" phase of the revolution.

The Party's Role

It is common knowledge that the Party is a separate and independent organisation within the national liberation movement. We are autonomous in all respects, having our own structure, leadership, information and communication services, finances and officials. It would not be possible for us to make a proper contribution to the struggle if we lost any piece of our independence and capacity for self-determination.

At this time we constitute a vital component of the alliance for national liberation which, as I have insisted, is our primary task at the present stage. We do not, of course, abandon or set aside our main task of advancing the struggle for socialism in the present phase. On the contrary, we insist that the struggle for socialism should be maintained at all times as a necessary component of the struggle for liberation and the democratic revolution. To substantiate the correctness of this approach, I need only refer to the massive upsurge of the working class in the past decade which has strengthened our national liberation movement precisely because it is directed against capital as well as against the apartheid state.

Our approach is clearly defined in the 1962 Programme. Allow me to quote two short extracts from the Programme:-

> ". . . The South African Communist Party is the party of the working classes, the disciplined and advanced class which has no property stakes in present-day South Africa and has been the core and inspiration of other classes in every struggle of our time . . . Only under its leadership can the full aims of the revolution be achieved."
>
> "The historic task of the Communist Party is the abolition of the capitalist system, and through socialist transformation of the economy of the country, to attain a classless Communist society. However, . . . the central and immediate task of the Communist Party is to lead the fight for the national liberation of the non-white people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution".

In advancing towards this objective, the Party will continue to raise the level of political understanding at home and abroad by means of systematic instruction in the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of scientific socialism. It is in this area of political communication that we are able to draw on the long-standing alliance between ourselves and the world Communist movement, notably its mainspring and inspiration the Soviet Union, fatherland of the international working class.

Ties with the Socialist World

All of us here assembled can testify from our own experience to the enormous assistance provided to the liberation movement by the socialist countries. It is therefore hardly necessary to dwell on this aspect or set out in detail the kind of material assistance we receive, whether in the form of food, clothing, equipment or scholarships — a form of aid that is especially close to the hearts and minds of the Youth and Students of SOMAFCO (the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College).

Allow me, however, to mention a small thing which bears out my contention. Recently, within the past few months, a motorship from Leningrad arrived in Dar es-Salaam bringing supplies for our schools in Tanzania and Zambia. This was organised by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet Peace Fund at the request of the ANC. The cargo included visual aids, equipment for the schools, stationery, film projecting units and books. They are a gift from the Soviet people to the youth of South Africa, who are waging a struggle for freedom under the guidance of the ANC, whose 70th Anniversary is being marked by progressive people in the socialist world and other countries.

Tasks of the Youth

We are faced with a formidable task in our country, it is the task of organising and mobilising our people. The youth in this respect has got an important role to play, to spread the word of the revolution in all the corners of our country. To all citizens of our country, they have got to symbolise the spirit of resistance, the spirit of fighting.

With due respect to our cadres we must and we are still in duty bound to make much higher demands on them for the assigned sector of work, to combat in real earnest all manner of irresponsibility and lack of initiative. We must assume responsibility for the future of our country. I know it is an arduous job but it is a noble one. The tasks we face should be determined in this light.

This year has been designated as the YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION. The struggle for the unity of our party is a most important sector of our party work. Our party will fight all manifestations of factionalism. I believe we are all working for the same cause. It is the cause of our people's happiness for the progress and future of all mankind. Let us consolidate our gains.

Long live the South African Communist Party!
Long live the gallant youth of our country!
Long live the African National Congress and its allies!

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA — THE PRESENT DAY NAZIS!

Leaflet distributed throughout South Africa by underground units of the South African Communist Party

The world has been shocked by many gruesome massacres. Names such as the Warsaw Ghetto, Lidice, Guernica, Sharpeville, Mueda, Cassinga, Soweto, My Lai have become symbolic of fascist barbarism as well as people's undying resistance to tyranny.

The Pogrom in Beirut

To this seemingly unending list is added the hellish butchery of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. The entire civilised world literally recoiled in horror as accounts of this diabolical crime became known. A sadistic, genocidal crime climaxing months of Israel's relentless and indiscriminate bombardment and slaughter which reduced West Beirut and the towns and refugee camps of South Lebanon to rubble with scores of thousands homeless, maimed, dead.

No amount of twisting and turning by the Israeli government and Army Bosses has been able to conceal the truth and hide Israel's bloody culpability:

- The Israeli Army was in control of Beirut and had surrounded the Palestinian refugee camps;
- The Israeli Army invited the so-called "Christian militia" into those camps and stood by for at least 36 hours whilst defenceless people were literally hacked to pieces;

* The vicious brutes that wielded the axes, bayonets and guns are the pawns and puppets of the Israelis. Neither their hireling Haddad with his private army, nor the fascist falange of the Jaimal family, have any power without the funds, arms, training and support they receive from their Israeli bosses.

Clearly the instigator of this grisly deed, so reminiscent of the Czarist pogroms against the Jews themselves, is Israel. Israel is the criminal-in-chief — and not for the first time are the hands of her rulers stained with Palestinian blood. The allegation levelled at Israel for many years now: namely that Israel is waging a genocidal war against the Palestinian people has been shown to be correct. The myth that Israel acts in "self-defence", protecting "its right to existence" lies buried in the rubble of West Beirut, lies buried with the bulldozed corpses of innocent men, women and children in the Sabra refugee camp and in the destroyed towns of South Lebanon such as Tyre and Damour.

Israel & South Africa — Unholy Allies!

Virtually the whole world has condemned Israel but the Pretoria regime will remain silent. Why? Because Israel and South Africa are close allies:

* They cooperate closely at all levels — economic, political, military;
* Israel is teaching the SA military the tactics she is using against the PLO and Arab people; SA is encouraged by Israeli aggression, occupies Namibia and part of Angola, arms and supports bandit groups in Mozambique and elsewhere;
* Israel is trying to penetrate Africa and assists reactionary forces;
* They commit similar crimes, similar acts of aggression against their neighbours, bomb civilians, massacre refugees, assassinate popular leaders, resort to fascist terror and rule by jackboot, torture, gun;
* They both enjoy the support of the USA and the West because they are both bastions against Arab and African progress and preserve imperialism's economic interests. They both serve the extremist global policy of the Reagan Administration envisaging suppression of the liberation forces, creation of world tension and destabilisation of newly liberated and revolutionary states.

Apartheid & Zionism — Racist Doctrines!

Is it ironic that a state founded on a wave of emotion against nazi persecution and genocide should itself end up employing the same Hitlerite methods and techniques? . . . Should end up treating the

Palestinian and Arab peoples the way the Nazis treated the Jews and other races? . . . Should end up with Nazi bedfellows like Botha and Malan, the infamous Major Haddad and Jaimal's fascist falange which was founded in the 1930's out of admiration for Adolph Hitler???

We say no, it is not at all ironic! This is actually the logical consequence of Zionism which is an exclusive, narrow, racist ideology comparable to Apartheid. It does not serve the true interests of the Jewish people, whether in Israel or anywhere else, just as Apartheid does not serve the ultimate security and interests of the Whites. Zionism, like Apartheid, serves chauvinistic big business interests and dupes its supporters into believing that it is the sword and shield of their "existence". It is an expansionist doctrine as is Apartheid, aimed at being the dominating power of an entire region, and like Apartheid it resorts increasingly to war, aggression, genocide and internal repression in order to preserve and further those class interests. This too was the essence of Hitler's so-called "national socialism" (nazism) and Mussolini's fascism.

Like Hitler's Third Reich and Mussolini's Italy neither system can survive the just struggles waged by a united, organised and determined people! Like our own South African struggle, the resistance of the Palestinian people, the progressive forces in the Lebanon and the democratic movement in Israel, too, cannot be crushed but will grow! In fact the Palestinian people and the PLO combatants who heroically defended Beirut against all odds have won a resounding moral victory over Zionist Israel.

We Communists call upon our entire people: our workers, women, youth:

In the wake of the invasion, rape & destruction of the Lebanon . . .
In the wake of the ghastly massacres of the Palestinian people . . .

- **Raise your united voices against the Israeli-inspired massacres and crimes!**
- **Demand Israel's immediate withdrawal from the Lebanon and all Arab lands!**
- **Condemn Israel's genocidal policies against the Palestinian people!**
- **Smash the Zionist-Apartheid alliance and mobilise to stop Pretoria turning Southern Africa into another theatre of war!**
- **Denounce the USA's support of Israeli aggression!**
- **Support the Palestinian people's struggle for justice, national rights and self-determination!**

LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE! AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

AGOSTINHO NETO — FIRST PRESIDENT OF FREE ANGOLA

by Prof. Rostislav Ulyanovsky

Angola's path to independence was perhaps the thorniest compared with the other newly-free African states. The Angolan patriots were the first people in any of the former Portuguese colonies to start an armed uprising, which they did in Luanda on February 4, 1961 against Salazar's fascist dictatorship which had completely rejected a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Portugal's rulers and the population in the colonies. The uprising touched off vigorous action against foreign enslavement, not only in Angola but in the other Portuguese colonies.

However, the uprising was poorly organised and failed to take into account the specific conditions of struggle against a fascist regime. Many courageous Angolan patriots were killed. The armed forces of national liberation had to be reorganised and trained for prolonged military action. Only after fifteen years of persevering armed resistance to the colonialists and a period of repulsing foreign aggression and crushing splinter groups which were relying upon international imperialism, did Angola take its place among the sovereign African states.

The Angolan people were able to endure all those sufferings only because they were led by the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), an organisation tried and tested in numerous battles, supported by the international working-class, communist and national liberation movements, and guided by a closely knit group of staunch and fearless revolutionaries, and Agostinho Neto was the most widely recognised MPLA leader.

He was one of those African revolutionary intellectuals who preferred leading a life full of hazards, privations and sacrifices rather than being well-to-do and privileged (in comparison with the general standard of living in Africa) under colonialism. These people who devoted themselves to the struggle for national emancipation were the organisational and ideological nucleus of the national liberation movement and did a great deal to unite the masses oppressed by Portuguese colonialism and promote national awareness among them.

A talented poet and an efficient doctor, Neto was a patriot and a champion of justice, and devoted his whole life to the struggle for independence. He was born on September 17, 1922 in the village of Caxicane, 60 kilometres from Luanda. His father, a Protestant minister, was also a schoolteacher, as was his mother.

Upon finishing at secondary school in Luanda, Neto began working in the public health system.

Gift For Poetry

His striking gift for poetry which revealed itself in the 1940s made him one of the prominent figures in the movement to revive national Angolan culture. His verse was, from the very first, closely linked with his country's chief problem, that of getting rid of colonial oppression. After much scrimping and saving, he managed to lay aside a sum of money, left for Portugal in 1947 and enrolled in the medical college in Coimbra.

He finished his education in Lisbon.

Neto was arrested for the first time in 1951 for collecting signatures for the Stockholm Appeal for Peace. When released, he became active in the radical student movement where he represented students of the Portuguese colonies. In 1955, Neto was arrested for a second time. The petition demanding his release was signed in 1957 by Jean-Paul Sartre, Louis Aragon, Simone de Beauvoir, Nicolas Guillén, Diego Rivera and other distinguished figures. This was evidence of the worldwide renown of Agostinho Neto as a poet of "Portuguese" Africa.

In 1958, Neto received a degree in medicine, and in late 1959 he returned to Angola where he immediately assumed leadership of the MPLA, founded in 1956, while simultaneously practising medicine. In June, 1960, for a third time he was placed behind bars on one of the Cape Verde Islands. The news of his arrest gave rise to protest marches in his birthplace, Icolo-e-Bengo. These riots took on such a vast scale that, for the first time in the history of colonial administration in Angola, the authorities had to use the army in addition to the police to put them down. At that time, Neto was elected Honorary Chairman of the MPLA in recognition of his services to the liberation movement.

In October 1961, he was transferred to a prison in Portugal and in 1962 set free due to pressure from the MPLA-sponsored worldwide campaign to release political prisoners. But he was not allowed to leave Portugal. However, his friends helped him escape from that country, and in July 1962 he arrived in Kinshasa where the remnants of the MPLA were trying to regroup following the defeat of the 1961 uprising. From that moment to his last days, Neto was constantly at the head of the Angolan people's struggle. That the MPLA was rebuilt after the devastating setback of 1961 is to his credit.

New Approach

The first national conference of the MPLA held in Kinshasa under Neto's guidance outlined a new approach to the liberation struggle. Armed resistance was now regarded not as a strictly military act but as a form of political struggle calling for the mobilisation and unification of all patriotic forces, for a higher political consciousness and alliance and interaction with all opponents to colonialism in Angola or outside it, primarily with the socialist countries which were always ready to support nations fighting imperialist oppression. That line came up against opposition from leftist elements headed by Viriato da Cruz, former General Secretary of the MPLA, expelled from the organisation in 1962. They advocated the Maoist slogan of "self-reliance", sought to isolate the MPLA from the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and preached racist distrust of all mulattos and Portuguese.

There were also two large opportunist and tribal groupings which did not enjoy any serious support from the masses. One of them, the so-called Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by Holden Roberto, operated from the territory of neighbouring countries and the other, the National Alliance for the Complete Liberation of Angola

(UNITA), headed by Jonas Savimbi, and protected by South African racists, became active starting in 1966 in the south of the country.

When the anti-fascist revolution in Portugal did away with the Salazar-Caetano regime in the spring of 1974 and it became clear that the struggle for independence had entered the crucial stage, the MPLA, as ten years before, was the only national organisation that had a solid military and political basis in the country. All this was due to Neto's efforts.

He played an important part in charting the MPLA's revolutionary policy. By that time, he had formed truly Marxist views on the prospects for Angola's development. He read a great deal and had studied Marxist-Leninist literature seriously; he had visited the Soviet Union and other socialist countries more than once. Many of his statements revealed the mature philosophical thinking of a dialetical materialist.

The Third Plenary Meeting of the MPLA Central Committee convened on his initiative in October-November 1976 was of tremendous significance for the country after it had won political independence. The Plenary Meeting passed a decision on socialist orientation for the young republic and proclaimed the building of socialist society to be the MPLA's ultimate goal. The idea was voiced for the first time that the MPLA advocated scientific socialism and that it was inadmissible to oppose scientific socialism to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Plenary Meeting urged MPLA members to consolidate, combat splitting tendencies, sectarianism and opportunism, and rally around President Neto. Agostinho Neto became the generally acknowledged leader of the nation and the head of state. His prestige was very high, for he had behind him two decades of leadership of an uninterrupted armed struggle against the colonialists. He was well aware of the need to rebuild the MPLA and convert it into a Marxist-Leninist political party.

First Congress

The First Congress of the MPLA took place in Luanda on December 4-10, 1977. The report of the Central Committee delivered by Neto summed up the results of the twenty-year-long struggle asnd outlined the fundamental changes that had occurred in the MPLA after independence was won. The report also mapped out ultimate aims of the struggle and specific social, political, economic, ideological and organisational tasks.

The Congress declared that the construction of socialism was the MPLA's primary goal and characterised the current stage of Angola's development as a people's democratic revolution. Neto pointed out in his report that with the emergence of the People's Republic of Angola, the MPLA had fulfilled its historical mission as a national liberation movement and that in order to build people's democracy and socialism, it would be necessary to form a vanguard party of the working class based on Marxist-Leninist principles that would unite all Angolan working people. It was, therefore, decided to rename the movement the MPLA Workers' Party.

One of the resolutions adopted by the Congress made special mention of the "staunchness, courage and perspicacity that are always characteristic of Comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto, the leader of our struggle and indefatigable creator of the Angolan people's victories".

Neto died in October 1979 at the age of 57, still full of vim and vigour, energetically carrying out state and party work. He was just reaching the height of his vigorous activity to put the decisions of the MPLA's First Congress into practice. The death of an outstanding revolutionary is always untimely, all the more so when the tasks he set for himself have not yet been fully accomplished and his country is going through a trying period. Angola will feel the loss of its first President and the leader of the liberation struggle for a long time to come.

Still, Agostinho Neto will always be with his people, with his creation — the MPLA-Workers' Party. He has left them a glorious heritage. Under his guidance, Angola won its independence; he mapped out prospects for its development; and now his followers and the Angolan working people are determined to follow the path of socialist orientation indicated by him. Neto left Angola and Africa as a whole his valuable experience of revolutionary action in a complex situation. In many respects, this experience is of worldwide significance.

Neto was one of the best and most authoritative representatives of African revolutionary democrats of a "new wave" who came to power in the mid-1970s. In the former Portuguese colonies, the new revolutionary democrats relied upon their own long-standing experience of armed struggle which served as a good school for them and which led them to the realisation of the need to work for socialism. They also relied upon the experience of the majority of African states which had 10 to 15 years of independent development behind them.

The "new wave" African revolutionary democrats made much greater progress than their predecessors, the pioneers of national democracy of the 1960s, in the study and application of scientific socialism, in making scientific analyses of African society, of the aims and stages of revolution, the alignment of class forces, and in effecting practical changes. The conclusions drawn by Neto from his own experience and from the experience of revolutionary struggle in other African countries are the highest pinnacles of political thought inherent in the African national liberation movement of the 1970s. These conclusions are the gist of his practice and make up his true legacy. They are certainly worth generalising and studying. For lack of space we are not able to give a profound analysis of Neto's political views but will point to some of them which seem particularly important for the future of the revolutionary national liberation movement in Africa.

Armed Struggle

While considering armed struggle the only possible means of resisting Portuguese colonialism, Neto and his associates in the MPLA, as well as in FRELIMO and PAIGC, who directed the liberation movements in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, did not absolutise armed actions. He understood the political character of liberation wars and the need to prepare for and guide them politically. He insisted that military activity be closely linked with ideological, political, social and propaganda efforts. No liberation movement should be confined to insurgent activity; on the contrary, it should encompass all aspects of national life; only then will it succeed. Such an approach was proved correct by the experience of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and by the earlier experience of Vietnam. On the other hand, it brought out the fallacy of the opposing, narrow military approach.

The strategy used by Neto and the MPLA was characterised by a dialectic approach to various social phenomena. He detested "ossified" catchwords, ideas and forms. In an effort to attain complete political and social emancipation for the Angolan working people, he always took into account the real possibilities and the actual situation in tackling concrete problems. He proceeded from a scientific conception of the stages of the revolutionary process.

Back in the early 1960s, Neto became aware that national independence could not be gained merely by crushing Portuguese colonialism; as MPLA documents noted, it would be necessary to display vigilance towards attempts by imperialist powers to supplant outdated Portuguese colonialism with more flexible forms of neocolonialsm. Neto also put forward social targets, which testified to his intention to change Angolan society under conditions of independence, to protect the interests of the workers and peasants, and to strive for social justice.

At the same time, during the period of the struggle for independence, neither Neto nor other MPLA leaders spoke of socialism as an ultimate goal. They realised that national liberation was in itself a great goal and a reliable basis for rallying patriotic forces. Aware of the law-governed nature of the anti-imperialist, nationalist stage in the mass-scale struggle of colonial peoples, they were in no hurry to skip that stage or declare it out-of-date. At the same time they never absolutised nationalism and resolutely discarded narrow, selfish, in effect, bourgeois nationalism.

The MPLA and its leader Agostinho Neto, like their associates in the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, have chosen the long and arduous road of advancing revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist nationalism, making deeper its social content, gradually weakening and expelling from its ranks exploiting elements and bringing the working people to embrace the ideas of scientific socialism through this democratic nationalism. Devoid of any pseudo-revolutionary effects, this road has for many years of struggle enabled the MPLA to rally all walks of life to rebuff colonialism.

It was only in late 1976, when political independence had been won, that the Third Plenary Meeting of the MPLA Central Committee proclaimed socialism the ultimate aim of the movement. However, the given stage of Angola's development was clearly defined as people's democratic, not as socialist, this being recorded in the Programme adopted by the MPLA-Workers' Party at its First Congress.

Neto knew only too well that the redefining of the objectives of the struggle — a political shift in the ideological and political platform — would inevitably engender a new attitude towards the ideology of scientific socialism. On his initiative, the First Congress of the MPLA- Workers' Party declared socialism to be the ideological basis of the party. Such a thing had never been done before, while the country was fighting for independence, though it had been obvious that the MPLA leaders, particularly Neto, supported the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Only after independence had been won and the class struggle had come to a head in the country did the MPLA opt for scientific socialism on Neto's initiative. In so doing, the MPLA leaders took a consistent stand and managed to avoid the errors made by many representatives of "African socialism". Agostinho Neto said that there could be no European or African socialism, that "there is but one scientific socialism which has become a reality in a major part of the globe", and that the task was to translate into life the outstanding doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from specific Angolan conditions. Neto was perfectly aware that the process of turning the MPLA into a vanguard party of the working people, far from being complete, was only beginning.

Class Forces

Defining the stages of a revolution is inseparably linked with the alignment of class forces. Neto made an appreciable contribution to the solution of this problem under colonialism. He advocated the closest possible unification of the national forces for repulsing imperialism. MPLA documents emphasised that the policy of a national front called for the participation of all segments of society in the struggle for independence. However, while working to rally the entire population on an anti-imperialist basis, one should not overlook the fact that various social strata play different roles due to their economic status and often contradictory or even antagonistic relations between them. National unity, as seen by Neto, rests upon the recognition of class struggle and the need to transform it as the revolutionary process develops.

During the struggle for independence, the MPLA's policy-making documents did not single out from among the participants in the resistance movement any social sections designed to play a leading role. The situation changed, however, when the first objective of the struggle had been attained and the country was faced with the task of building people's democracy so as to pave the way for transition to the socialist stage of the revolution. When the colonialists held sway in Angola, internal class contradictions were relegated to the background by the conflict between Portuguese masters and their colonial slaves. As Neto pointed out at the First MPLA Congress, after the country's liberation, its internal contradictions deepened, the class struggle intensified, and the petty-bourgeois elements became more active. Therefore, the MPLA Programme and Neto's speeches emphasised that power in Angola was in the hands of the working people and that the alliance between the workers and peasants underlay the unity of all patriotic forces in the republic, with the working class playing the leading role in that alliance.

Neto vigorously opposed the adventurist attempts by the Alvis-Van Dunen factional group which brought the idea of the proletariat's leadership in conflict with the idea of national unity and set the working class against the intermediate petty-bourgeois sections through artificially accelerating the revolution. In contrast to those propaganda tricks used by the faction group in a bid for power, Neto stressed the invariability of the following MPLA principle:

> "All patriotic forces are called upon to contribute to the revolution. We protect our national unity, but they don't," said Neto. "They would like the working class to rule the country, but to rule alone and in constant conflict with the other classes."

In his last speeches made in July and August 1979, Neto repeatedly drew attention to the danger of a stronger petty-bourgeois influence that could pose a threat to the decisions of the First MPLA Congress. "Angola has no bourgeoisie possessing power," he said. "But such a phenomenon might emerge if we do not show caution. And we do want power to be in the hands of the workers and peasants, not in the hands of the bourgeoisie."

That stand did not prevent him from saying that the petty bourgeoisie had no reason to fear the workers and peasants and that it would have an opportunity to continue its economic activity if it did not abuse its position and conformed to the interests of the working people.

Friendship with USSR

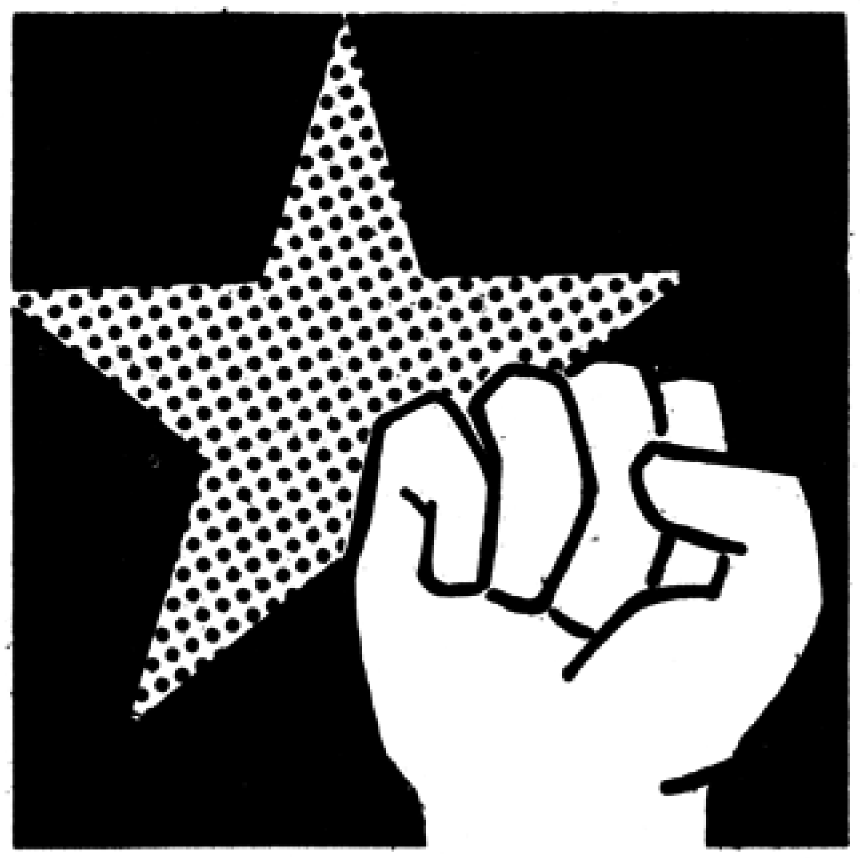
Neto did a great deal to strengthen friendship between his country and the Soviet Union. In this respect, his experience is of worldwide significance. He was one of the first African leaders who realised that solidarity with socialist countries and their internationalist assistance were a major strategic reserve for the national liberation movement, a guarantee of victory, and a reliable safeguard against imperialist encroachments. That stand was only natural for the leader of a guerrilla movement which had from the outset received aid from the socialist community. After becoming head of state, Neto made wide use of the new opportunities that opened up for promoting relations with the socialist world. In an hour of formidable threat to the Angolan revolution, he did not hesitate to turn for aid to the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries.

During his visit to Moscow in October 1976, a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola was signed. Contacts were also established between the CPSU and the MPLA-Workers' Party.

Neto believed that the aim of the Angolan revolutionaries was not only to form a party but to improve it continuously and to enhance its socialist potential. A turning-point in this sense was the First Congress of the MPLA which advanced the task of setting up a party of the working class to bring together "in a single strong union the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and other working people loyal to the cause of the proletariat". Neto constantly gave attention to the problem of reorganising the MPLA's structure and activity in keeping with the principles proclaimed by its First Congress. With this aim in view, a campaign was launched in the country in 1978 "for the purity of the party ranks".

Shortly before he died, Neto toured Angola's principal districts and spoke at many public meetings. He focused attention on questions of party and state construction and cautioned against bourgeoisification and bureaucratisation of the party and state machinery. He also noted that the party and the state were not yet able fully to satisfy the requirements of political education for and unification of all social strata. He urged the MPLA to involve more workers and peasants in political affairs, this being a guarantee of the country's advance towards socialism.

Evidently feeling that his death was imminent, Neto said in one of his last speeches that the Angolan revolution would continue though any of its participants might die at any moment. The revolution is still going on; it derives strength from the legacy of Agostinho Neto who, in a trying period, took the lead in the struggle for independence and showed his people the only correct road to follow.



BOOK REVIEWS

IMPERIALIST 'BLUNDERS' IN AFRICA ARE NOT MISTAKES

Crisis in Africa. Battleground of East and West, by Arthur Gavshon. (Penguin Books, London, price £3.95)

The Big Lie starts on the cover: first, the title — 'Crisis in Africa, Battleground of East and West'; then the cartoon — caricatures of the USA and the USSR, looking equally vicious, in eyeball to eyeball confrontation, grabbing what they can of Africa while the peoples of Africa, tiny ant-sized creatures, scurry in every direction in an effort to escape. The theme is repeated, with one variation or another, throughout the book, wrapped up in a slick style more suited to the tabloids than to the pages of a book which purports to be a serious study of events in Africa.

The super-power theory is not new. It has been peddled assiduously for years now by the imperialists, the Maoists, the Zionists and also, and not least, by the South African racialist regime. In the light of this theory, the peoples of Africa are seen as mere pawns on the chessboard of power politics, their struggle for independence relegated to a poor second place compared with the importance of bigger 'geo-political' issues. The Soviet Union is seen as no less imperialist than the United States, both powers seeking hegemony in order to dominate and exploit weaker nations.

It is a useful theory for the imperialists and their puppets. They use it to justify overt and covert interference in the internal affairs of other states, including the use of armed intervention, wherever they deem it necessary to further their interests.

By supporting this theory, by distorting the aims of Soviet policy and its relations with Africa, Gavshon plays into the hands of the imperialists, and it is immaterial whether he does so wittingly or unwittingly.

His book is sprinkled with the weasel words and the stereotyped images of the cold war warriors. We get the "ideologues and military leaders in the Kremlin hierarchy" arguing "long and deeply over whether or not to abandon Somalia for Ethiopia". And on the same subject Gavshon writes: "Thrown out of Somalia, invited in by Ethiopia, the Russians then committed themselves totally to rescuing Mengistu's regime despite its disordered Marxist ramblings."

Whoever views Africa through such distorted lenses is quite incapable of any worthwhile assessments, however many facts and figures he chooses to juggle with.

One of Gavshon's 'Case Histories' is Angola. He begins with a bit of sleight-of-hand, juxtaposing quotations from Kissinger's testimony to the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Africa in January 1976 with extracts from Brezhnev's report to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in an attempt to create the overall impression that Kissinger and Brezhnev were "expounding, at long distance, the global implications of the Angolan war in super-power terms." What Gavshon fails to make clear is that the quotations attributed to comrade Brezhnev were taken from a section of the report where he was dealing with the basis of Soviet policy in general terms, and not with Soviet policy specifically in relation to Angola.

Gavshon draws predominantly on Western, and particularly American sources and analysts, for much of his material, and it is the American, anti-Soviet approach which pervades the book. He adopts the pose of an objective observer, giving equal weight to the American and Soviet viewpoints, but by repeating anti-Soviet slanders, Gavshon helps to spread them, and even when he prefaces the crudest of those slanders with such phrases as 'Soviet policy as perceived by', or 'Western diplomatic sources believed', his own real bias shows through, as the following passage illustrates —

> "It was a different story however, in late December 1979, when Soviet air and land forces invaded neighbouring Afghanistan and posed in the eyes of western and key Third World nations a direct threat to the oil resources of the Gulf and

> to the territory of Pakistan. Not all Russia's disavowal of these intentions allayed the fears of the Americans, Europeans and most Moslem states. Some African countries, too, joined the chorus of condemnation."

Anyone who, in the face of the evidence, still believes that the Soviet response to the appeal by the Afghan government for assistance in beating off imperialist-backed counter-revolution constituted an invasion, or poses a threat to the oil resources of the Gulf and to Pakistan, can believe anything.

Even when Gavshon is most critical of imperialist policies, he persists in attributing those policies to purely subjective 'misjudgments', 'misconceptions', 'blunders', 'mistakes', etcetera, etcetera. Take this as a typical example —

> "American involvement (in Africa) wavered between benign neglect and romantic embrace — corresponding with the range of Soviet inaction or action. A major Washington misjudgment was for years to arm and fund Portugal, fellow-member of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), during the wars of liberation in the Lusitanian empire in Africa."

Romantic embrace and misjudgment indeed! Someone should take Gavshon aside and tell him the facts of life. Imperialists act as they do, not because they are mistaken, but in deliberate pursuance of their predatory, expansionist imperialist interests, which lead them inevitably to seek out and support throughout the world all the most backward and reactionary governments, elements and classes, wherever they can find them.

The 'who-did-what-to-whom-first', the 'if only' approach to African events is a shallow and misleading method of analysis. The 'mistakes' and 'blunders' of the imperialists are in reality defeats imposed upon them by the peoples of Africa, victories for the people in their struggle for freedom.

Africa is not a battleground between East and West. It is a battleground on which the peoples of Africa are fighting against the murderous, unceasing attacks of the imperialists, and the peoples of Africa know that in that just struggle they can rely on the support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all progressive humanity.

By obscuring that basic fact, Gavshon in effect belittles the struggles of the peoples of Africa and, in doing so, does Africa a disservice.

AN INSIDE STORY OF GHANA'S LIBERATION

By Nkrumah's Side — The Labour and the Wounds, by Tawia Adamafio. (West Coast Publishing House, Accra, in association with Rex Collings, London, 1982. Price £7.50.)

This book is a mixture of an autobiography and biography of Kwame Nkrumah in the context of the liberation struggle of Ghana, a struggle which was led by the Convention People's Party.

Adamafio outlines the attempts of the CPP to convert the Ghanaian mass organisations to the CPP. This is an interesting story about the development of Adamafio from an apolitical position into the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Committee on Youth Organisation (CYO) and finally into the CPP which was formed on June 12, 1949. Adamafio was close to Nkrumah during all these years. Even when he went to study in London he was in touch with him and Nkrumah's friend in London, George Padmore.

Adamafio writes passionately about these history-making events, events he knew very well. This gives the book its authenticity.

He was at one time Secretary-General of the CPP; held numerous ministerial posts and was a confidant of Nkrumah's. In 1962 he was arrested in connection with the assassination attempt on Nkrumah at Kulungugu the previous year. He is not bitter about this, and says of the incident:

> "... when the bomb attack occurred at Kulungugu, E.R.T. Madjintey, the Police Boss, immediately caused a thorough investigation to be made and it was established conclusively that the men who made the attack were Northerners based at Lome. Kwame Nkrumah, pressed and surrounded on all sides by my party enemies, rejected that report and fell for another report fabricated and engineered by these enemies." (p 131)

These events have somehow coloured the contents of the book. Adamafio tends to justify himself by overestimating his contribution to the Ghanaian developments and, while praising and even hero-worshipping Nkrumah, he at times tends to be patronising, as if he was the brains behind Nkrumah and without him Nkrumah would have made more blunders.

There are unfortunate formulations in the book:

> "We were building a unique African pattern all our own and based on our own tradition and culture... (p 52).

Although Adamafio still regards himself as an anti-imperialist, he admits:

> "After independence I changed my attitude towards Britain and made many friends among the British and with some of their leaders." (p 99)

This books needs to be read by African revolutionaries because it does show the strength and weaknesses of a national liberation struggle. There is a need to strike a correct balance between the demands of national liberation and those of social emancipation. For instance, the motto of the CPP was "Forward Ever, Backwards Never" — where to?

Ndevuzibomvu.

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Current Problems of the Southern African Region.

(Published by the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic.)

This is a collection of 15 papers read and discussed by social scientists from the socialist countries at a symposium held at Karl Marx University in the German Democratic Republic. The booklet is edited by Sylvia Neame.

Collectively and individually the essays deal with "burning issues of the struggle in Southern Africa" and the book's value lies in its "scientific analysis of the social situation in Southern Africa, of the tendencies in the development, and the tasks, possibilities and conditions of the struggle of the progressive forces .... a project of primary importance for Marxist-Leninist Africa researchers."

Those of us surfeited with the voluminous efforts of plainly bourgeois, liberal-marxist and new-left academicians will find in these writings a refreshing approach, analysis and synthesis of crucial aspects of the racist-exploitative system in South Africa and their consequence for the unfolding revolution in South Africa and the region.

Sylvia Neame deals with the nature of the South African socio-economic formation, emphasising the dialectic between class and national oppression within the framework of the "imperialist-colonialist character of the system, in particular in relation to the role of South Africa in the world imperialist system."

Her analysis links together the "economic, social and political as well as the national and international factors" contributing to the make-up of past and present-day South Africa. Such an approach, she argues, offers far more to an understanding of the reality of the situation than the "too narrow economic approach" of those who, while opposed to the system of apartheid, either deny or underplay the significance of the colonial character of the South African formation and hence the national question.

From a slightly different though related angle, two other papers continue the theme. Erika Fodor analyses the emergence of South Africa as a "sub-imperialist country" as a result of a "particular historical development". Helmuth Stoecker takes up the question of "ethnic processes and the problem of the nation in South Africa". Whilst Erika Fodor analyses the dependency-hegemonic character of South African sub-imperialism, Stoecker argues that the process of drawing together and uniting the various national groups among the African people in opposition and struggle against apartheid is leading to the emergence of a "black South African nation which actually constitutes the bulk of the population. . . ." He has some interesting and thought-provoking observations about the role and position of Coloured and Indian South Africans in the process of nation-emergence, as well as "the largest national minority, the still highly-privileged whites. . .". No doubt our own experts on "the national question" will want to study this contribution and further elaborate on it.

No serious study of present-day realities in South Africa can escape examining the nature of the crisis gripping the dominant classes and their attempts to deal with it at a time of maturing revolutionary crisis. Gerda Weinberger, in analysing the political, economic, national and international components of the crisis, points out that it is not a mere passing phenomenon, but "is continually intensifying" i.e. it is an organic crisis. From the analysis, and consistent with it, Weinberger argues that the South African state, whilst relying mainly on militarisation and internal and external aggression, has at the same time adopted measures which imply the beginning of a transition to new, more modern forms of exploitation.

As evidence for this conclusion an extensive analysis is made of the steps undertaken by the Botha regime to extend and consolidate the system of exploitation in the new conditions of South and Southern Africa, e.g. the closer cooperation between the Botha regime and monopoly capitalism both local and international; the political and economic measures; the crisis in the dominant Afrikaner section with the split between the "verkramptes" and "verligtes"; the Wiehahn and Riekert reports and the new labour legislation. The point Weinberger makes, and which is an important one, is this:

"Irrespective of whether we classify the changes taking place in South Africa as short-term tactical manoeuvres or a long-term strategy of the ruling class, we, as Marxists, have the duty to analyse these changes."

Neva Seidman Makgetla contributes a penetrating analysis entitled "Impact of the Scientific-Technological Progress on Apartheid". The essential question she confronts is this: will the further industrialisation and the impact of further technological applications "lead, without revolutionary change, to the improved living standards and more productive employment opportunities typical of 'developed' capitalism, or does it rather reproduce and aggravate the contradictions of dependent capitalism?" Both positions are currently being argued and her own contribution and analysis point to the need to expose the real nature of the changes taking place. The bourgeoisie, she says, will continue to seek to adapt the apartheid policies through marginal reforms. Hence it is imperative for the liberation movement to maintain the momentum of struggle.

It is not possible to deal with all the other articles in this collection, but mention should be made of Alfred Babing's contribution on the second conference of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) as a concrete attempt by the independent states of Southern Africa towards economic cooperation and breaking their dependence on South Africa; and Arnold Selby's article on the South African liberation struggle as a component of the fight for world peace and disarmament. Both deal with "burning issues" of the day in a broader context.

Other papers deal with:

* Armament and Militarisation in the Republic of South Africa.
* The Educational Policy of the South African government since Soweto 1976.
* Some aspects of the present situation in Southern Africa.

- The "Constellation of States" in Southern Africa.
- Currency instruments in imperialist strategy and the development of Southern Africa.
- South African military strategy towards Angola.
- Namibia.
- The O.A.U. in the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Each of these papers points to further research, study and analysis. The conclusions reached raise even further questions. But Sylvia Neame has done well to bring these contributions together in a single volume.

T.S.

AN INVALUABLE REFERENCE BOOK ON THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The Non-Aligned Countries. (Published in London by Harney and Jones. Price £15.)

This massive tome of 800 pages is a reference book published by Harney and Jones in association with Orbis Press Agency, Prensa Latina, Vietnam News Agency and Cooperative Ouvriere de Presses et d'Editions. The English edition was translated from the Spanish by Dr Ivo Dvorak.

The non-aligned movement had its origin in the Bandung Conference of 1955, but was not formally established until 1961 when it held its first summit conference in Belgrade.

The first summit conference was attended by 25 countries as full members of the movement, three observer countries and by representatives of national liberation movements and international organisations. The last summit conference held in Havana in 1979 was attended by 95 full members, one country with special status (Belize), 20 observers and 19 guests. Altogether 135 countries and movements, including our African National Congress, were represented in Havana. The next summit conference, the 7th, is scheduled to be held in New Delhi from March 7 to 10, 1983.

The non-aligned movement is of special significance to Africa; of the 95 full members, no fewer than 51 are from the African continent, the remainder coming from Asia (30) and Latin America (12), with 3 from Europe. The present chairman of the movement is Cuba's Fidel Castro.

The basic principles of the non-aligned movement are anti-imperialism, opposition to military alliances; the struggle for detente; opposition to apartheid, racism and Zionism; economic and political co-operation between the countries of the so-called Third World; and the struggle for a new international economic order. It has played a significant role in the fight against war and for peace.

The volume under review comprises a country-by-country profile of the full member states, listing their geographical features, basic statistics, political history, party structure, economy and special cultural features.

The whole work is prefaced by a 7-page introduction giving a brief description and history of the non-aligned movement and listing its decisions at summit meetings. In view of the vital role being played by the non-aligned movement, one feels that this introduction, in addition to providing basic information, could also have discussed in greater detail the significance and role of the movement and its impact on international affairs.

This is an invaluable book of reference, already in its second revised edition. It is to be hoped that future editions will be better proof-read. The present edition has David Livingstone exploring up the Zambezi River in the middle of the 11th century and the names of many leaders misspelt not through ingnorance but as a result of careless proofing. There are also too many spelling mistakes for the same reason. Lapses of this kind are undesirable and above all unnecessary.

P.M.

REVOLT OF THE SLAVES

A Chain of Voices, by Andre Brink (Faber and Faber Ltd., price £7.95)

This novel of 525 pages is something of a blockbuster dealing with a slave revolt in a farming area of the Western Cape in 1825. On the surface this may seem a bit removed from the scene of most of Brink's previous novels, but in essence his theme is the same as in his two previous novels — the fight against discrimination and oppression, the assertion of human dignity and the right of every man and woman to enjoy freedom of choice and opportunity. Brink is not a revolutionary, but he understands what makes revolutionaries tick, and this understanding — certainly in the eyes of those who ban his books — is not very far removed from sympathy.

How far are we removed today from the slavery of the early 19th century? A government official wrote in 1813:

"Slaves have not any of those rights and privileges which distinguish the state of the free in civil society; they cannot marry, they do not possess the right of disposing of their children, even if they be minors, they cannot possess any money or goods in property, they cannot enter into any engagements with other persons, so that they can compel them to the fulfilment of such engagements, they cannot make a will, and they are therefore considered in the civil law as not existing".

There was even a ban on slaves carrying lighted pipes in the streets.

The leader and main inspirer of the revolt described in Brink's novel, Galant, as a boy played games with the white boy Nicolaas van der Merwe who was to become his master. But even as they played Galant noticed differences. Nicolaas wore shoes, whereas Galant went barefoot. Nicolaas could read and write, whereas Galant was illiterate. And inevitably the time came when Nicolaas, even as a boy, exerted his authority as a white and shut Galant out of his life. When Nicolaas and his brother Barend went swimming with the white girl Hester, Galant was forbidden to go with them.

"Why not? We always go together."

"From now on you stay away when she's there."

It was Barend who issued the order, but Nicolaas acquiesced. Galant was disgusted, stunned. In a flush of anger he picked up a stone and threw it after them. The first seed of revolt had been sown in his mind.

The slave trade had been abolished in the British Empire in 1807, but those who were already slaves remained in bondage. However, the smell of freedom was in the air, and slave revolts began to break out. After one revolt had been smashed by the army in Cape Town, Nicolaas' father Piet summoned all his slaves to the yard.

> "Then, one by one, I had them tied to the front wheel of the wagon and flogged by the *mantoor* (foreman), every one of them, man, woman and child, thirty-nine lashes for each grown-up, and twenty-five for a child. The *mantoor* was last; I flogged him myself. Only then, after they'd all had their share, did I

> speak. 'Let this be a lesson to you', I told them, 'should you ever get it in your heads to rise up against me. Now go back to your work and finish whatever you were doing.' Then I went into the house, and kissed Alida (his wife), and sat down to eat."

Throughout the book slaves are flogged on the slightest provocation. The campaign for amelioration and ultimately abolition of slavery gathers momentum from 1823 to 1838. Slaves are given the right to complain of ill-treatment, but find, like no-trial detainees in present-day South Africa, that it doesn't pay to complain; they only get flogged again. But still the tide of revolt grows. Eventually Galant organises a rebellion, but it misfires and he and his co-conspirators are executed. On the fly-page of the novel Brink quotes Engels' dictum that

> "History makes itself in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each again has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life... What each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something no one willed...(Yet) each contributes to the result and is to this degree involved in it".

The novel takes the form of a series of internal monologues by the various characters, each giving his version of what happens, the combination intended to add up to a unified whole. This device could have been revelatory had the characters been more sharply observed, but they all seem to speak the same sort of language, all prone to profound introspection and articulate verbalisation of their respective streams of consciousness. It is Brink the ventriloquist giving a one-man show. Sometimes one can see his lips moving and sometimes he repeats himself. The development is too slow, the ending too long delayed and the outcome too predictable to arouse in the reader the pity and terror at which the author was aiming.

Z.N.

§§

The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity.

F.Engels, *Anti-Duehring*, 1877

§§

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGY AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

From Luthando Sizwe, Luanda

Dear Editor,

The national liberation movement (NLM) as a mass process of national consolidation against colonialism and all forms of domination of one nation by another is a movement of whole classes and strata ranged against such domination. Its political course is directed by the class positions of the different social groups who take part in the struggle for national liberation. If, by ideology, we mean a developed system of political, philosophical, moral and religious ideas, the nature and composition of the NLM must germinate differing trends because of its differing social and class elements.

The exploitation of the masses of the working people, the denial of opportunities for the prospective middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie by the oppressor nation bring all these groupings within the orbit of the NLM. This domination temporarily transcends the class differences and the different groupings unite against their common oppressors. This does not mean the end of ideological differences, but provides an alliance of forces of different classes and creeds, all of whom want to be independent and free.

The Marxist-Leninist definition of ideology is: a system of views and ideas directly or indirectly reflecting the economic and social peculiarities of society, *expressing the position, interests and aims of a definite social class and designed to preserve or change the existing social structure*. This means the ideological struggle is one form of the class struggle and the direction of the NLM is determined by the strength of the two basic tendencies within the movement.

Imperialism's colonial policy provides for the exploitation of the manpower and material resources of the colonised and the struggle against colonialism is a confrontation of class interests. It is the profit motive that has been responsible for the plundering and exploitation of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, resulting in their economic ruin.

Two Nationalisms:

The above argument is an attempt to explain that genuine national liberation has to reject bourgeois notions of freedom and democracy. Such bourgeois concepts provided the conditions for national domination and colonialism in the first place. An appreciation of the difference between bourgeois nationalism and revolutionary democratic nationalism is essential.

Bourgeois nationalism is a strong force and bourgeois ideology cannot be ignored, for it is to be found even in the ranks of some national patriotic forces, including those of South Africa. However, history has proved that bourgeois nationalism leads to national chauvinism and the exacerbation of internal strife.

Revolutionary democratic nationalism acknowledges that capitalist lust for profit is the cause of exploitation and oppression. It unites the forces against the system in order to establish free nationhood and independence that will be democratic, true and lasting.

History has shown that this can be achieved only by the working class working in alliance with the peasantry and securing the vanguard role. (The country's level of development may sometimes make the peasantry the main force for national revolution). The workers' battles strike at the very core of the system. Their economic and political interests represent the aspirations of all the oppressed, irespective of their class origin. Therefore the ideology of the working class also serves the best interests of the majority of the oppressed.

It is in the interest of the unity of the NLM that no one ideology should prevail, yet the principal driving forces of national liberation — the workers and the poor rural masses — who constitute the majority must lead to the prevalence of one ideological tendency. This can be opposed by the other social forces, but the recognition of the leading role of the working class is what gives the revolutionary democractic wing of the NLM its strength.

No Third Line:

The ideological commitment of anti-imperialism must be working-class oriented since anti-imperialism is a negation of the bourgeois system and its ideology. Is the non-aligned movement neutral in the struggle between the two basic camps in the world? No, for it is aligned against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, exploitation, oppression and war. Thus the non-aligned countries strengthen the anti-imperialist movement.

The ANC:

The formative period of the ANC was characterised by the diverse ideological tendencies and intense struggles for clearer ideological commitment, but the call for popular unity was the overriding factor. At this stage the ANC had no ideological course — some people cherished the ideas of Booker T. Washington, some Marcus Garvey, others opted for W. E. B. du Bois. The birth of the International Socialist League in 1915 and the resultant spread of Marxist ideas must have made its mark on some members of the ANC. (NB: ANC leaders cooperated with the ISL in the launching of the Industrial Workers of Africa.)

Capitalist development accelerated the development of national liberation and the fight against white colonialist racism in South Africa. The growth of the black working class and its recognition of its historic role made people realise what a successful liberation drive in South Africa must entail.

The South African Communist Party and the progressive trade union movement advanced the cause of national liberation by example and by the theory of class and nation in the South African context. The NLM of South Africa became a revolutionary organisation which rejected narrow nationalism and bourgeois nationalism, with the realisation that these concepts, while purporting to challenge bourgeois society, in fact buttress the system.

The acceptance of Marxism-Leninism is not a necessary precondition or guarantee of success for the national liberation drive in South Africa. Marxism-Leninism is unchallenged as the superior scientific theory of revolution and provides theoretical and practical answers to questions of national and class struggle everywhere in the world. However, in the specific conditions of South Africa it would be wrong to expect the entire national-patriotic movement to espouse Marxism-Leninism as this would lead to the polarisation of class tendencies and reveal a failure to understand the relationship between class and nation in the South African context.

However, it is equally wrong to argue that the NLM has no ideological leanings because ideology is strictly a class phenomenon. This approach suggests that the NLM's fight against the colonial and oppressive system of imperialism is a confrontation between bourgeois ideology and the "non-ideology" of the NLM. This is definitely absurd, because by the very fact of opposing imperialism the NLM has ideological leanings, as the ANC's *Strategy and Tactics* makes plain.

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